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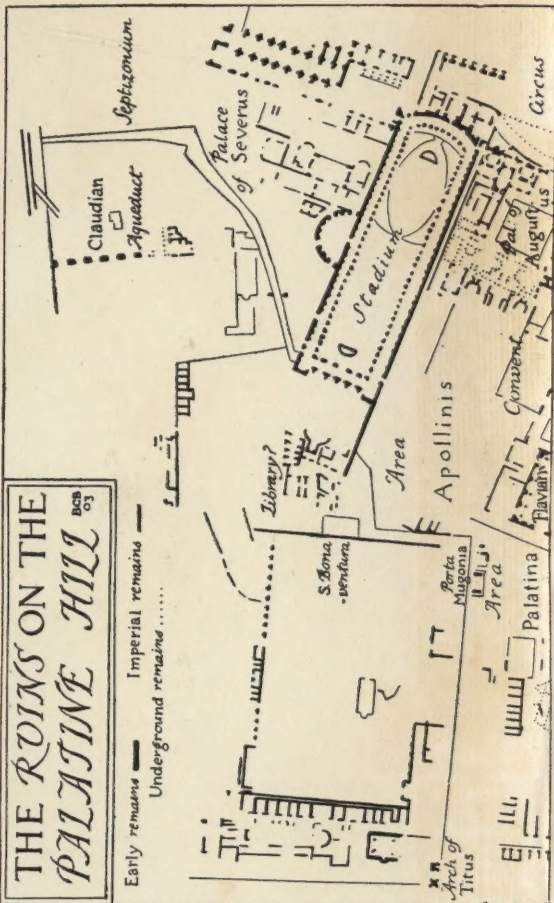
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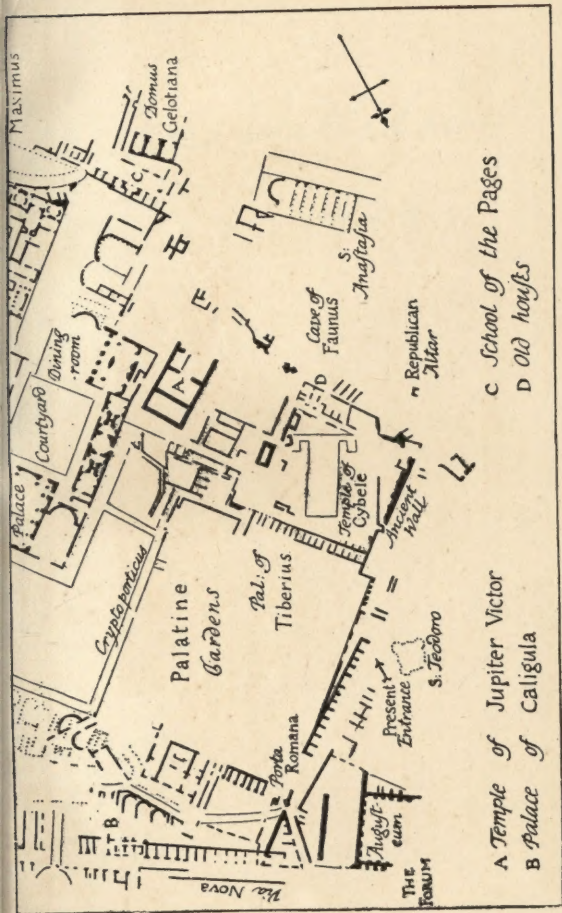


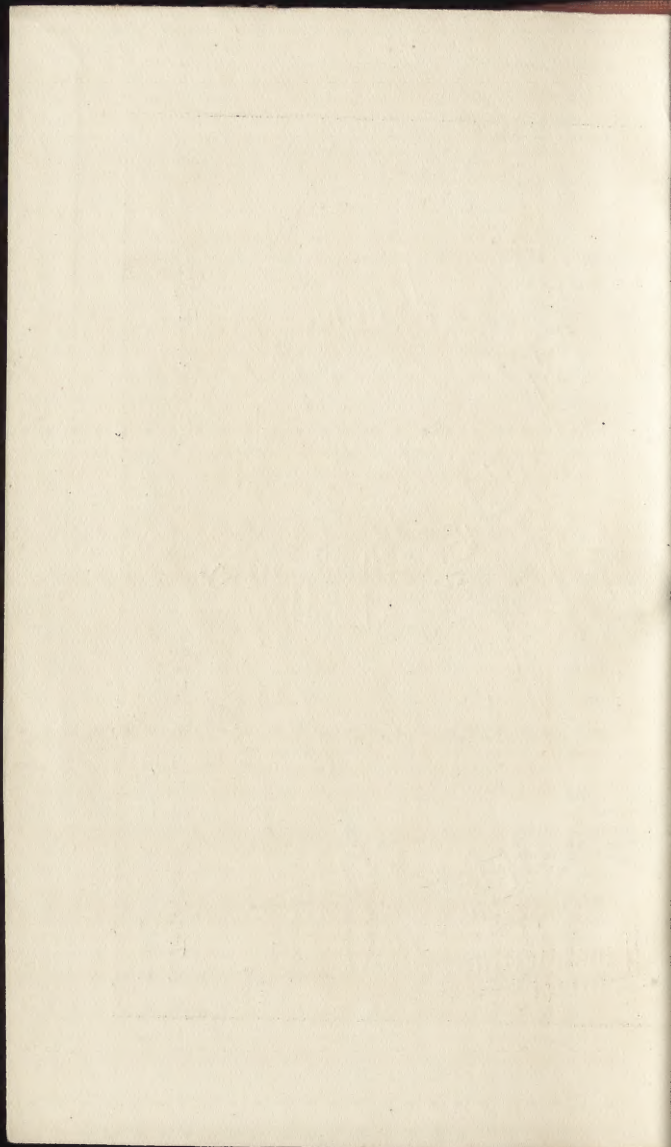
THE ROINS ON THE PALATINE HILL

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Early remains — Imperial remains —
Underground remains







Lora Waterhouse.

1929.

How late

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THE LITTLE GEDDES

ROME

THE LITTLE GUIDES

CAMBRIDGE AND ITS
COLLEGES

OXFORD AND ITS COLLEGES

ST. PAUL'S CATHEDRAL

WESTMINSTER ABBEY

THE ENGLISH LAKES

THE MALVERN COUNTRY

SHAKESPEARE'S COUNTRY

BUCKINGHAMSHIRE

CHESHIRE

CORNWALL

DERBYSHIRE

DEVON

DORSET

HAMPSHIRE

HERTFORDSHIRE

THE ISLE OF WIGHT

KENT

MIDDLESEX

NORTHAMPTONSHIRE

NORFOLK

OXFORDSHIRE

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THE EAST RIDING OF
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THE NORTH RIDING OF
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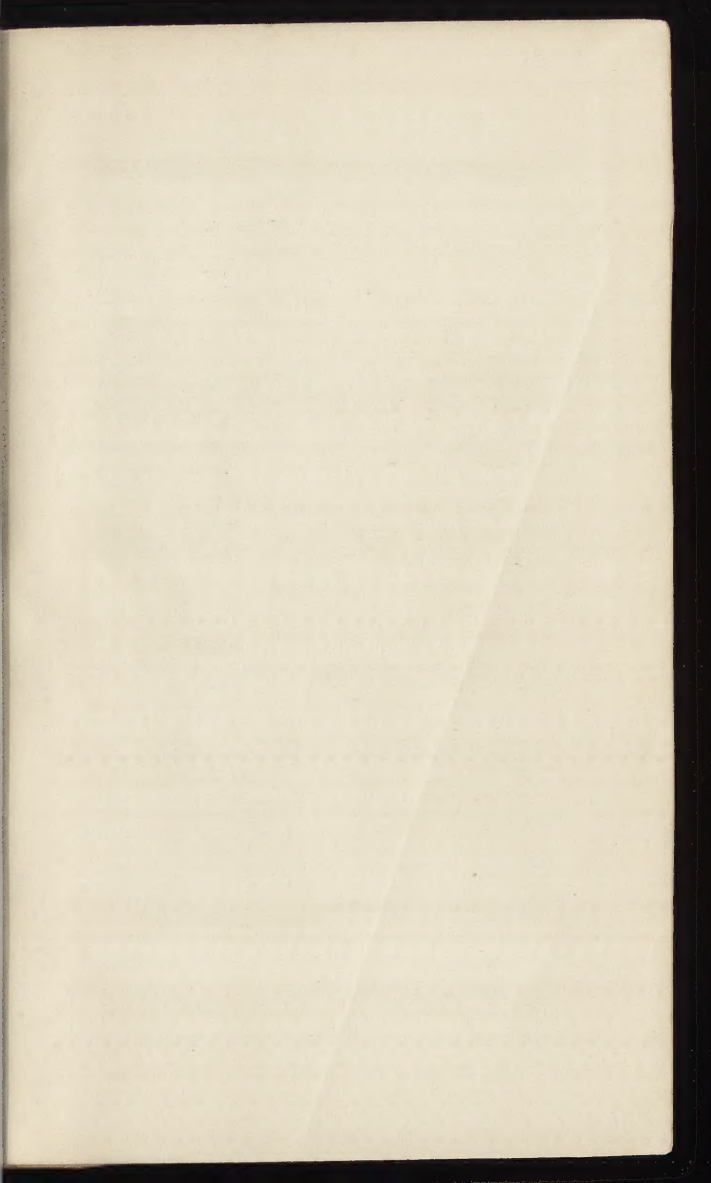
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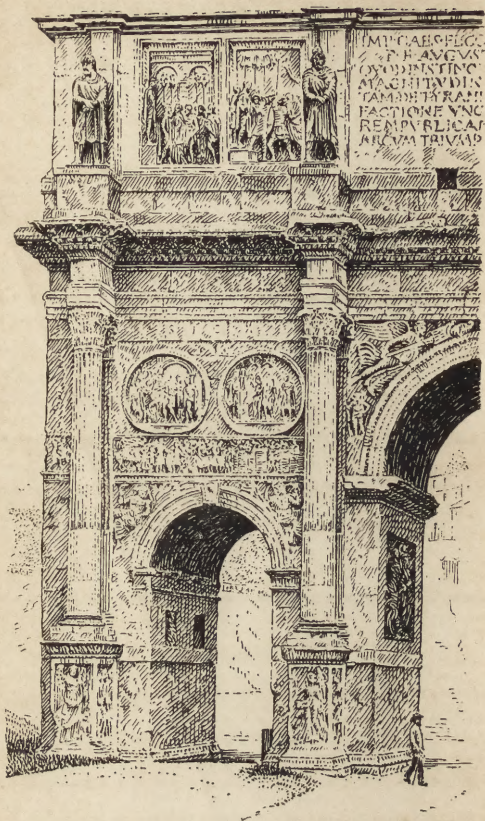
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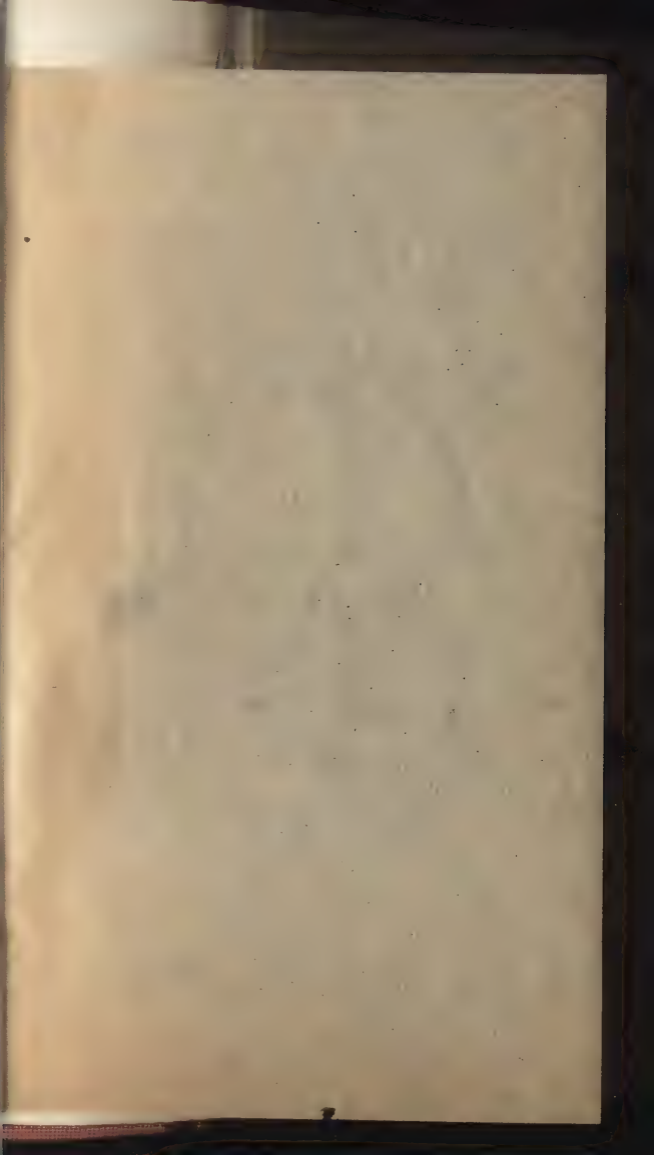
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THE · ARCH · OF · CONSTANTINE

BCB



ROME

By

C. G. ELLABY

Illustrated by

B. C. BOULTER

AND FROM PHOTOGRAPHS

" . . . illa incluta Roma
Imperium terris, animos æquabit Olympo "
ÆNEID VI. 781-2

LONDON
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PREFACE

THIS little book has been written in the hope that it may help those who have not time to read the many valuable but of necessity long books about ancient and Christian Rome, and who are unable to disentangle the remains of various ages that are so closely intermingled everywhere.

Much has been omitted that will be found in elaborate guide-books, but an attempt has been made to bring together and to explain the objects and the architecture of the buildings of different ages and to help the student at his first visit to Rome, leaving him later on to supplement his knowledge from fuller authorities. The author has carefully studied the architecture during many visits to Rome, and has consulted the latest Italian authorities, as well as the most important of the older books. It is not contended that the plan of taking the various remains according to their character and date has been adhered to throughout, for in some cases an arrangement

based on local considerations has been adopted, as in the case of the Forum, because such a course seemed practically the best.

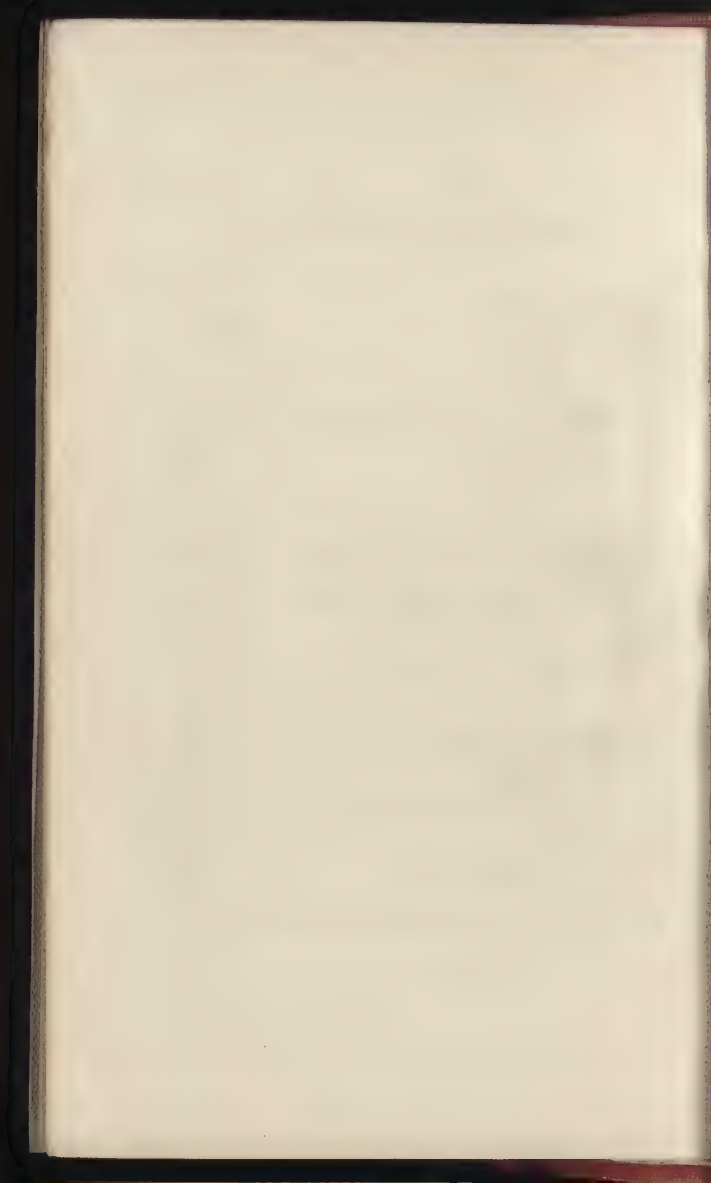
It is hoped that in spite of its limitations this book will be useful to those whose time in Rome is short or who wish afterwards to revive old impressions.

The author wishes to thank many friends in Italy and Oxford for assistance and advice, and especially Mr. Wells of Wadham College, who has looked over some of the chapters, and Mrs. Rinaldi, whose kindness in making inquiries for him in Rome has greatly helped him. Dr. Hodgkin and the Delegates of the Clarendon Press have most kindly granted permission to make use of the Map of the Walls in *Italy and Her Invaders*.

The chief merit in this little book is in the very pretty illustrations which Mr. Boulter has drawn, which cannot fail to be admired by those who know and love Rome.

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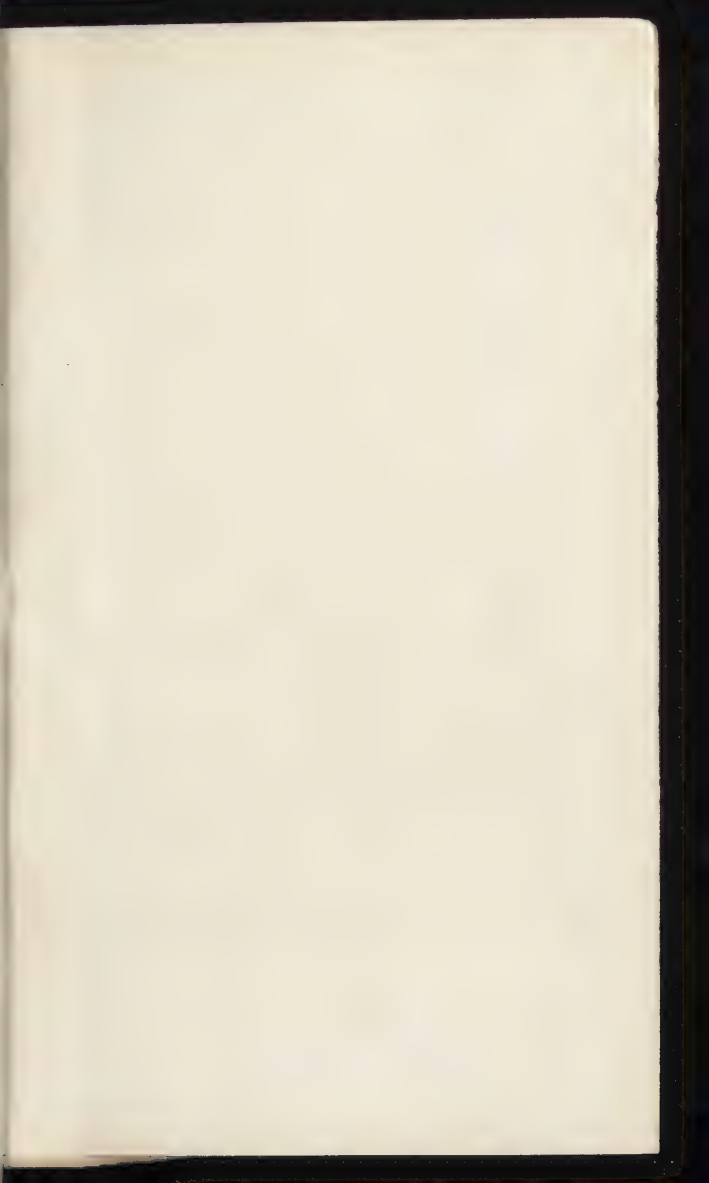


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A ROMAN AVENUE (VILLA BORGHESE)

CHAPTER I.

ANCIENT ROME.

Ancient Rome.—It is not proposed in this chapter to give a description of ancient Rome, which should be studied in the *Dictionary of Classical Geography*, or, still better, in vol. v. of Merivale's History ; but to attempt to show how some of the facts in these descriptions may be studied on the spot. The existing remains are so scattered over the modern city, and when the later buildings have been removed they are often so scanty, that it is only after a careful study that the visitor can picture to himself the ancient city.

Rome is often called the city of the seven hills, but two only in the early times, the Palatine and Aventine, were really distinct ; for the Capitoline was united to the Quirinal by a high ridge, that ran across what is now Trajan's Forum ; and the Quirinal, Esquiline, Viminal, and Cælian are still merely spurs of the wide plateau, some 150 feet above the Tiber, which slopes gently towards the country outside Rome.

The Vatican and the Janiculum, on the right bank of the river, were never included in ancient

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Rome ; and the Pincian was entirely covered with gardens. Probably the earliest inhabitants dwelt for safety on the tops of the hills in little villages, like those now existing on the tops of the Apennines ; then as they became more numerous they inhabited the hollows between the hills and the low ground on the west bank of the Tiber. The wide plain of the Campus Martius, now thickly crowded with streets, was used at first as a ground for exercise, and later for parks and public buildings only.

Remains of the Rome of the Kings.—There is no reason to disbelieve the tradition that Rome in the earliest times was ruled by kings, nor that the earliest settlement was on the Palatine. As time went on, the people on this hill united with the tribes on the others, and the whole city was surrounded by a wall. The remains of those days have almost entirely disappeared, a few fragments of the old walls on the Palatine and the remains of the Servian Wall are all that exist. It is pretty certain that a Sabine settlement on the Quirinal joined the Romans' on the Palatine, and that a common temple was erected on the Capitoline to Jupiter, which was held in the greatest veneration, and the remains of which have been found in the gardens of the German Embassy.

Republican Remains.—The remains of the Republican period, which is the most interesting to most of us from our early studies, and the great literature that has come down to us from these times, are also very scanty ; a few

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temples, some bridges, the ruins of some of the aqueducts, are almost all we have ; but the sight of the Forum, although the existing remains are almost all of Imperial date, will always recall to us the times of Cicero and Cæsar.

Imperial Rome.—On the other hand, the age of the Emperors, to whom we owe the Pantheon and the Colosseum, should be specially interesting to the inhabitants of Britain, who have before them a problem similar to that of Hadrian or Marcus Aurelius—the task of ruling an Empire of divers nations and religions, and of defending their frontiers against many distinct foes. They have also before them the problem, which the great men of the Republic failed to solve, of altering their Constitution, which has proved, like that of ancient Rome, perfectly suitable to a small and homogeneous State, but hardly elastic enough to manage a world-wide Empire. Though the Roman Empire was in many ways a deplorable necessity, it did succeed in giving a good Government to the provinces, and in defending them from invasion, while in Rome itself it restrained the vast cosmopolitan population, and made the city the most beautiful that the world has ever seen, and also one of the most healthy.

S. Paul's Journey to Rome.—In this description of the approach of S. Paul to Rome, Conybeare and Howson have described him as passing along the Appian Way towards the modern Porta Sebastiano, in the midst of houses and gardens, which then covered the Campagna,

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through which aqueducts and roads might be traced in converging lines towards the confused mass of edifices which formed the city of Rome. He would, however, see high above the rest the great palace of Caracalla, on the Palatine, though the still loftier home of Alexander Severus was not built ; and the magnificent marble temples on the other hills, as well as the many coloured palaces of the nobles, all it is probable covered with tiles flashing in the sun, must have struck his eye at once as he approached the town at the spot where the Porta Appia was afterwards built by the Emperor Aurelian, and which we see before us to-day. He passed through the midst of the great throng of people going to and fro between Rome and its harbour at Ostia—"Merchants hastening to superintend the unloading of their cargoes—sailors eager to squander the profits of their last voyage in the dissipations of the Capital—officials of the Government charged with the administration of the provinces, or the command of the legions on the Euphrates or the Rhine—Chaldean astrologers—Phrygian eunuchs—dancing girls from Syria, with their painted turbans—mendicant priests from Egypt, howling for Osiris—Greek adventurers eager to coin their natural cunning into Roman gold—representatives of the avarice and ambition, the fraud and lust, the superstition and intelligence of the Imperial world".

Roman Roads.—The whole of this vast throng was restrained and ordered by the police who had been organised by Augustus, and travel

ANCIENT ROME

along the great Italian roads was more rapid and convenient than travel in England a hundred years ago, before the times of Macadam and Peel. The road along which they passed was far better made than the roads in England at the beginning of last century, and compared very favourably with the best of our own time. The Romans took the greatest care to get a firm foundation for the surface of the roads and streets, digging a deep trench where the road was to be, into which they put rubble of all kinds, strongly rammed down, and above it a thick coating of cement, above which came the blocks of basalt or other hard stone, fitting closely into one another, and so arranged that the road sloped down on either side from the centre like the back of a tortoise, in order that the rain might run off. There was very often a raised footway on either side for those who were walking, and also stepping-stones across the road for use in time of flood.

Roman Streets.—The streets in Rome were constructed in much the same way, and were probably not unlike many of those still found in the poorer quarters. Augustus appointed permanent boards to look after the repair of roads and streets, and organised a complete postal system. He does not, however, appear to have regularly lighted the town at night, which was not done until the time of Claudius. At the time of S. Paul's first visit to Rome the streets of Rome were winding, narrow and crooked; and the houses were built for the

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most part of wood, or inferior brick ; but a few years later the fire destroyed the greater part of the quarter of the poor, who then lived in the recesses between the hills and round the Forum ; and the town was rebuilt with broad thoroughfares and open spaces, and the streets were laid in straight lines, and at right angles to one another. The external walls were no longer made of sun-burned bricks, but of stone or cement ; and a limit was set upon their height, which must, however, have still been very great, as Tacitus says that the soldiers of Vitellius on the top of the houses were on a level with the platform of the temple of Jupiter on the Capitoline.

Houses.—The great majority of these houses were what we should now call flats or blocks. The ground floor consisted of shops, and the rest of the house was let in rooms or sets of apartments to different people. No doubt the character of these rooms differed very greatly from one another, as we know that all except the very rich lived in dwellings of this kind. It is impossible to form any very clear idea of these enormous buildings, as there are practically no remains to be seen in Rome to-day ; but they probably resembled to some degree the tall houses in the old part of Edinburgh. The private houses of the nobles and the rich were for the most part upon the various hills of the city, and are better described in a separate chapter.

Magnificence of Old Rome.—If most of the Romans had poor and inconvenient homes,

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it mattered little to them, for no city has ever possessed so great a number of magnificent buildings in which to pass the day pleasantly and luxuriously, or so many and such beautiful parks and gardens always open, and filled with running fountains and beautiful works of art. The whole of the vast district between the modern Corso and the river was still for the most part open ground, here and there studded by some beautiful public buildings. It is only gradually, and after visiting the halls of the Vatican and the sculpture galleries, as well as the early Christian churches, that the visitor can call up before his eyes the brightness and magnificence and colour of ancient Rome. For several centuries the world poured into Rome its wealth and beauty ; the amount of marble of the most rare and expensive kind that was brought to Rome is almost beyond belief. The most lovely statues from Greek temples were placed in the Forum and in the great public halls. There must have been thousands of columns of the most beautiful marble standing around the temples, and in the colonnades. Some idea of their variety and beauty may be formed by observing the rows of columns in the early churches, which were, as a rule, taken from pagan buildings. White marbles were brought from all parts of Greece, and used to decorate the outside of the temples, as may be seen in the temple of Castor, in the Forum, and the gigantic columns, forty-two feet high, of the temple of Neptune in the Piazza di Pietra. The beautiful columns

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in S. Maria Maggiore of Hymettic marble were taken from a temple of Juno, and many of those in S. Paolo Fuori from the Basilica Aemilia. The lovely cipollino marble from Eubœa, of various shades of grey, crossing one another, may be seen in the temple of Faustina, in the Forum ; but coloured marbles, as a rule, were used to decorate the interior. There is no one who has not admired the splendid columns in the Pantheon of giallo antico, from the quarries of Africa ; and there are two of equal beauty in S. Giovanni in Laterano, taken from Trajan's Forum. The most precious marble of all, rosso antico, from Italy and Greece, may be seen in the steps leading up to the high altar of S. Prassede. Napoleon intended to have carried them to Paris, but fortunately he fell from power before his order could be carried out. Four pillars above the high altar of S. Cecilia in Trastevere are of black marble from Cape Matalpan ; and there are ten columns of pavonazzetto, so called from its variegated colours, like those of the peacock, in S. Lorenzo Fuori. These are only a few of the numerous examples still existing ; and besides marbles, beautiful alabasters, black and white, were used for pillars and tombs, as well as baths and vases, in which the light shines through with a most beautiful effect, of which there is a beautiful example in the Villa Albani. But all that still remains is but a very small part of what once existed, for while a few were taken to decorate new buildings, the great majority were melted down in the Middle Ages

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in order to get lime. The grandeur of the public buildings in Rome can hardly be exaggerated, and their number far exceeds that of any other town that ever existed. It has been calculated that there were as late as the fifth century in Rome 10 basilicas or public halls, 11 great bathing establishments, 36 marble arches, 6 obelisks, 423 temples, 2 circuses and 2 amphitheatres, 22 great houses, 2 colossi (those of Nero and Augustus), 80 gilded and 77 ivory statues of the gods. A short account of the methods of building in Rome will be given in the chapter on the walls, and it is proposed to describe the great baths and aqueducts, as well as the temples and places of amusement, in separate chapters ; but something should be said about the basilicas and triumphal arches, as well as the obelisks, and lastly a brief description of the river Tiber, and the magnificent bridges constructed by the Roman engineers, will not be out of place.

Basilicas.—The basilicas were the public halls of Rome, and were used not only for the administration of justice, but also as a place of shelter for the merchants who wished to transact business within them. Vitruvius, a Roman architect of the time of Augustus, has laid down the way in which they should be built, but it does not appear that his rules were generally followed. As far as we can tell, they were rectangular in shape, and were divided into three or four divisions by rows of columns, which ran down their entire length. Opposite the entrance,

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which was in the side or on one end, was a circular apse, the floor of which was raised, and which had a seat in the centre against the wall, in which the president sat ; and seats on either side for his assessors. There were often galleries, like those in S. Agnese Fuori, over the side rows of columns. The roof was usually of wood, and there was a blank wall outside, on either side. The apse was cut off from the rest of the hall by a low railing, like the one now restored in the basilica of Domitian's palace on the Palatine. In front of the apse was an altar, which was used for sacrifice before public business began. This was the general type, but there were many varieties ; and the roof in the later basilicas was often of concrete, while the rows of pillars inside were altogether omitted in some cases, and possibly the side walls in others. The great basilicas in the Forum and the Basilica Ulpia of Trajan will be described in a later chapter, but those who wish to go further into the construction of these halls should visit the basilica in the forum of Pompeii, and also the one still existing at Treves, in Germany. The latter does not appear to have had any internal columns, and is lighted by windows in the side, which may have been added later. The floor of the apse is considerably raised, but the throne and seats have disappeared. Though the Christian services were originally held in private houses, these halls were certainly imitated by Constantine when he built his great churches ; and later potentates followed his example.

ANCIENT ROME

Arches.—The numerous triumphal arches were erected across the streets in many places, and have been found on the great roads of Italy, as for instance at Rimini, near Ravenna, where there is a fine arch erected by Augustus on the Via Flaminia, and at Benevento. They were generally erected in honour of generals and emperors, and were, it is probable, borrowed from the Etruscans. They consisted of a lofty central arch between a pair of columns, surmounted by an entablature, which was often richly carved; and they were usually adorned with reliefs in stone and with statues. In the part above the entablature was usually an inscription, and on the roof or top were placed war chariots and the spoils taken in war, horses or statues. Sometimes there was only one arch, with one or two columns on either side, as in the arch of Titus; but in other cases there were two smaller side arches for foot passengers between the two side columns, as in the arches of Severus and Constantine.

The description of the arches of Titus and Severus will be more conveniently included in the description of the Forum, and the arch of Constantine is for many reasons the most interesting of all. This arch, which is close to the Colosseum, was erected in honour of the first Christian emperor after his victory over his rival, Maxentius, in 315 A.D. It has been proved by examination that the present inscription is the original one, and it is thought that the words “*instinctu divinitatis*,” which are rather vague

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in meaning, were inserted to avoid offending either the Christians or the majority of the nobles and people of Rome, who were still pagan. The general proportions of the arch are very good, and the eight columns of yellow marble from Numidia are very graceful. The statues above them and the reliefs on the medallions over the side arches, as well as most of the entablature, were taken from an arch erected in honour of Trajan near the Porta Capena.¹ All these are executed in excellent taste, and represent the Emperor performing various acts—hunting a wild boar, or offering sacrifice, or engaged in his wars against the Dacians ; while the other reliefs are carved in the debased style of the age of Constantine, and can easily be recognised by their rude workmanship ; though they are interesting from their association with the wars of that Emperor. The arch was carefully preserved, from the respect in which the name of Constantine was held ; and for the same reason it is often seen in pictures such as the *Castigo del Fuoco Celeste* by Botticelli, in the Sistine Chapel, and in other parts of the Vatican.

There were many other arches in Rome, and a part of the arch of Drusus, on the Appian Way, may be seen supporting the aqueduct of Claudius where it crosses the road. A very fine arch in honour of Marcus Aurelius existed in the Corso as late as 1563, and some of its medallions are on the staircase of the Palazzo di Conservatori

¹ Others think that they were taken from the Forum of Trajan.

ANCIENT ROME

in the Capitol. The Marble Arch in London gives a good idea of these buildings, and also the Arc de Triomphe in Paris, though they were probably more profusely decorated.

Obelisks.—Besides the arches there were in ancient Rome a great number of obelisks, many of which are still to be seen ; and although a great number have perished, Rome is still the best place in the world to study these curious pillars and their inscriptions. They were originally placed in pairs in front of the temples in Egypt, and are said to have been symbols of the rising sun, as the pyramid was of the setting. The transport of such great masses of stone to Rome shows as much as anything the mechanical skill of the Romans, especially when we recall the difficulty of bringing Cleopatra's Needle to London.

The largest obelisk in the world is that in the piazza of the Lateran. It is made of red granite, and is, with its pedestal, 153 feet high. The son of Constantine took it from its place in front of the great temple at Heliopolis, and set it up in the Circus Maximus, where it was found in three pieces by Sixtus V., who placed it close to the great church of the Lateran.

There is another also of great height in the great square in front of S. Peter's, which Caligula brought to Rome in a specially constructed vessel ; and it stood in the Circus of Nero, where the sacristy of S. Peter's now stands, until the same Pope moved it to its present place. It is said that while it was being moved every one

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was forbidden to speak aloud on pain of death ; but the great ropes refused to move, and the obelisk seemed about to fall, when a sailor shouted, "Wet the ropes". This was done, and it moved quite easily to its place. The sailor was rewarded, and his native place of Bordighera received the right of supplying the plants for Palm Sunday in Rome.

The small but famous obelisk of Rameses the Great, which was discovered in the ruins of the temple of Isis, near the Via S. Ignazio, is now placed in the square near the Central Station, and seems lost in that great area. One of the finest is that in the Piazza del Popolo, with four marble lions at each corner ; and there is another from Heliopolis in front of the Chamber of Deputies in the Piazza di Monte Citorio, not far from the Piazza Colonna. There is a small obelisk near S. Maria sopra Minerva, which the sculptor, Bernini, has placed on a small elephant, which gives it a comic appearance ; and the obelisks near the Quirinal Palace and in the Piazza di Spagna are not Egyptian at all, but the work of Roman artists in the time of the Emperors.

Besides the arches and obelisks, there were a countless number of statues in every square and in almost every street, and long lines of covered corridors or arcades, in which the citizens could walk in wet weather. Rome was also full of the most extensive parks and gardens, filled with every kind of tree that could delight the eye, and with fountains from which issued cooling streams of pure water, brought by the aqueducts

ANCIENT ROME

from distant hills. In no city was life so enjoyable to the idle and the poor.

The Tiber.—The city, however, in ancient as well as modern times, was much exposed to inundations from the Tiber, which did a great deal of damage even to the buildings of marble and stone, and was particularly destructive to the houses of the poor, which were often broken down by the force of the water. The course of the Tiber within Rome, including its windings, is about three miles. It has always throughout its history been subject to great floods, and whenever there has been a vigorous Government in the city it has been restrained by strong embankments, and new channels have been cut to carry off its waters. The embankment of the Emperors, as Professor Lanciani points out, was more skilfully designed than the modern one, which has not always proved strong enough to withhold the force of the waters, and in ordinary times leaves an ugly dry channel on the left bank not far from the island, while the old embankment had three distinct sections at different levels—"the narrowest to serve in time of drought, the second in moderate, and the third in extraordinary floods". Thus the river always flowed between well-defined and clean banks.

Several of the ancient bridges over the river still survive, and show clearly the skill possessed by the Romans in all engineering works (as will be more fully pointed out in the chapter on the aqueducts), which were finished with a completeness and excellence which is found

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in all their practical, as distinguished from their merely ornamental work.

The Bridges.—The Roman bridges are rather narrower in proportion to their length than the more modern ones. They have a road in the middle for horses and vehicles, and two raised footways. They were built of large blocks of stone, carefully fastened by iron clamps, or of concrete faced with brick. There were originally watch towers at either end, but all these have disappeared ; and the parapets were often ornamented with statues.

The most northern of the old bridges over the Tiber is the *Ponte S. Angelo*, close to the castle, which was originally called the Pons Aelius, and was constructed by Hadrian at the same time as his mausoleum. The three arches in the middle are original, and the two outer ones were added after the flood of 1870. Others belonging to the old bridge still exist under the ground on the left bank. The balustrade and statues with which it is decorated were designed by Bernini, and were formerly much admired.

The *Ponte Sisto*, connecting Trastevere with the city, was originally built by Marcus Aurelius, perhaps on the site of an earlier one by Agrippa ; but it was so completely restored by Pope Sixtus IV. that it may be called a mediæval work.

The oldest and most interesting bridge existing in Rome is the *Ponte Fabricio*, connecting the island in the Tiber with the left bank. It was built in 62 B.C. by Lucius Fabricius, a commissioner of roads. Forty years afterwards the

ANCIENT ROME

Consuls Lepidus and Lollius tested it according to the law, and found everything satisfactory. It is built of great blocks of stone, and remains can be seen of the old parapet surmounting it.

The Island in the Tiber.—The island itself was formerly cut into the shape of a ship, in which an obelisk represented the mainmast; and in times of flood it seemed to be floating down the stream. A celebrated temple of Æsculapius was built upon it, but only a few stones now remain. Near its site stands the church founded by Otto the Third to receive the ashes of his friend S. Adalbert. "Having received from Benevento relics supposed to be those of Bartholomew the Apostle, it became dedicated to that saint, and is at present the church of S. Bartolomeo in Isola, whose quaintly picturesque bell-tower of red brick, now grey with extreme age, looks out from among the orange trees of a convent garden over the swift eddying yellow waters of the Tiber" (Bryce's *Holy Roman Empire*, p. 288). The island is connected with Trastevere by the *Pons Cistio*, built by L. Cistius in 46 B.C., and often restored in later times, so that only the central of its three arches is ancient. The solitary arch standing in the stream near the southern end of the island belongs to the *Pons Aemilius*,¹ the foundation of which was laid by M. Aemilius Lepidus in 181 B.C. It was often repaired, but

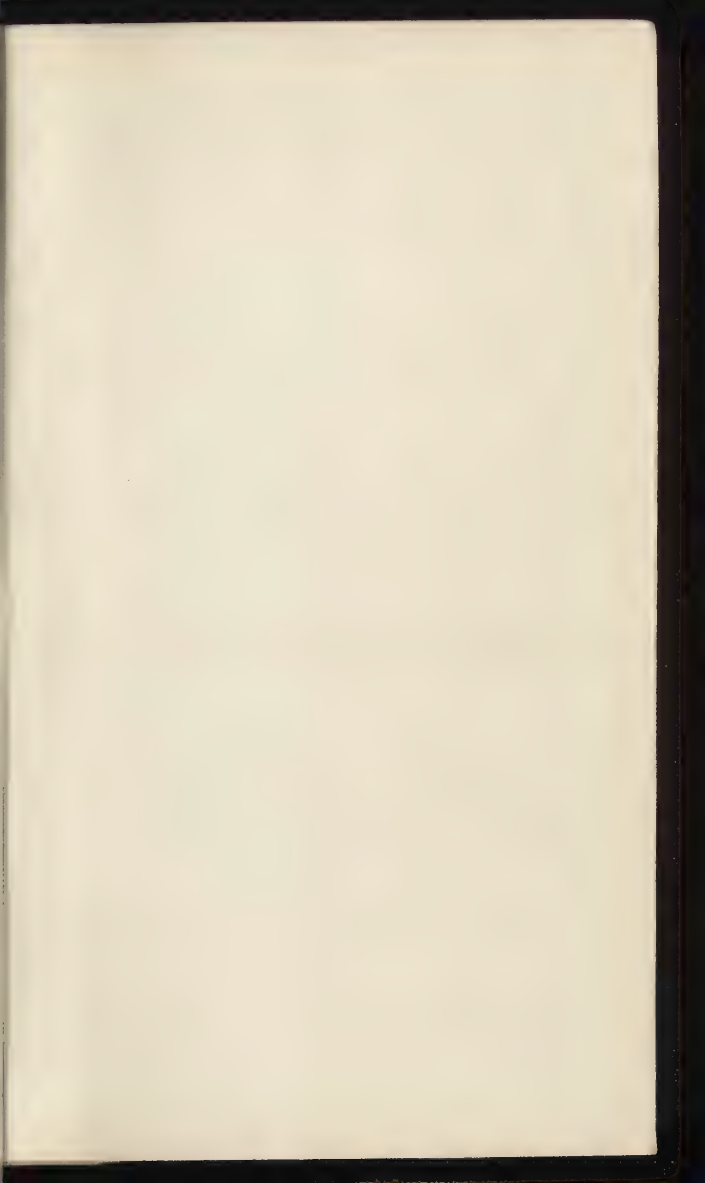
¹ This bridge is now generally called Ponte Rotto.

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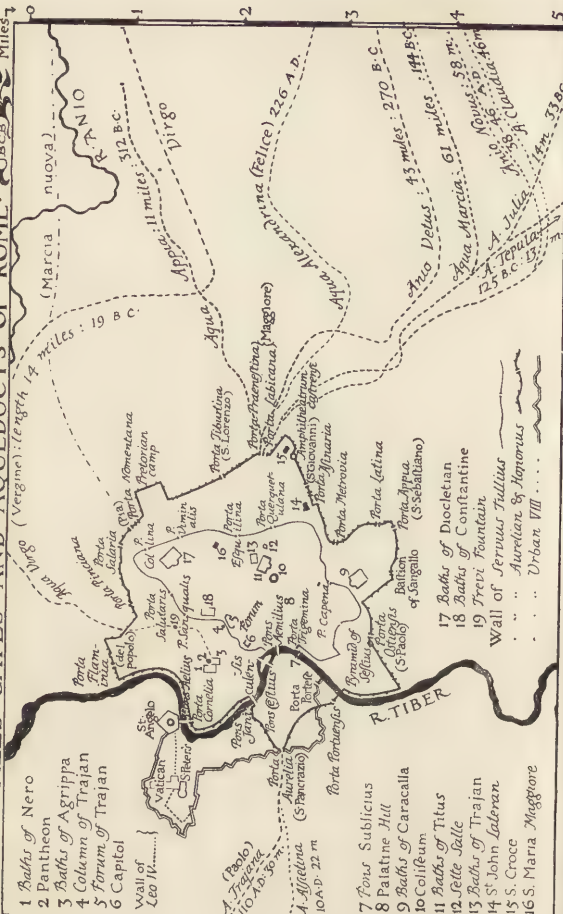
its position exposed it to the full force of the floods, and it was not restored after the last destruction in 1598.

In ancient times the Tiber was crowded with vessels of all kinds, full of wares from all parts of the world, which were placed in large warehouses close to the banks. Immense quantities of marble were stored on the shore underneath the Aventine, and between this hill and the bend of the river. Higher up, also, may be seen the remains of another wharf for landing marble and other merchandise. The whole river down to Ostia must have been crowded with vessels coming and returning, like the Thames below London Bridge.

Perhaps what has been said of ancient Rome may be of use to those who have not time to study the larger manuals. In the succeeding chapters an attempt will be made to describe some of the special remains.



THE WALLS · GATES · AND · AQUEDUCTS · OF · ROME · Miles 7



CHAPTER II.

THE WALLS OF ROME.

Methods of Building.—The buildings of Rome can be dated according to the various materials used and the methods of building ; the chief materials used are square stone and concrete. Originally the blocks of stone were roughly put together without mortar, as in the walls of Romulus,¹ as it is called, on the Palatine, near the church of S. Teodoro. By degrees the stones are better laid, as in the walls of Servius, and during the latter part of the Republic they were placed in a very thin layer of lime, as may be seen in the lower part of the Tabularium on the Capitol, which is built of beautifully square blocks of peperino.

Concrete had been used as a strengthening material as early as the time of Servius, but it is in the time of the Emperors that it begins to take the place of stone. The latter is still employed for the foundations of temples, as any one may see by going through the Forum, and for official residences like the Regia. The great beds of lava and other volcanic stones that are found all round Rome supply, when mixed with lime and fragments of broken stone or

¹ Opus quadratum.

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brick, a specially strong and reliable concrete. Usually, from some reason that we do not know, this concrete is covered with a facing of tufa or brick, which quite alters the appearance of the building, though, strictly speaking, no such thing as a brick wall really exists at Rome. Even a building like the Pantheon, that appears entirely made of brick, is really constructed of concrete. The surface of the concrete is variously treated ; in the earliest period, before Augustus, it was covered by bits of tufa of irregular shape and size, that were stuck into it before it was hard, while their outer surfaces were carefully smoothed.¹

Later on the pieces of tufa or brick were carefully shaped in squares and arranged in cross lines close together over the entire surface of the concrete. Their appearance is very like that of a net, and for this reason the name of *opus reticulatum* is given to this kind of work, which was in common use until the time of Hadrian, after which ordinary bricks were used.

The brick was usually covered with stucco or thin marble, and it is very difficult to know why this was not applied directly to the concrete, since brick is by no means easy to cover. The outer coating of brick was thicker in earlier times, and became very thin under the later Emperors. In the Roman walls found in Britain the facing generally consists of stone, and the wall itself of rubble instead of concrete, while at regular intervals courses of long thin bricks

¹ Opus incertum.

THE WALLS OF ROME

are found going right through the wall. This may be seen at Richborough, and in the outer wall of Pevensey Castle. The Roman mortar is famous for its excellence and durability, and is generally to this day perfectly strong and good.

The Servian Wall.—King Servius Tullius is said to have been the first to surround the city with a continuous wall, and its surviving parts still bear his name. It began at the Capitol, and crossing the forum of Trajan, ran along the edge of the Quirinal to the Via Sallustiana ; then it turned to the right and ran past the railway station to the Cælian Hill and then past the church of S. Gregorio, round the Aventine to the Tiber, and after running along the bank for some time, crossed again to the Capitol. In most of its circuit this wall was built against the face of the cliffs surrounding the hills, but where it had to cross the level ground it was strengthened by a deep ditch 30 feet deep and 10 feet wide, and the earth was heaped up at the side to form a mound 30 feet high, which was built up by a thick stone wall, and the whole was paved at the top with lava. Considerable remains of this rampart can be seen near the railway station. Most of the level pieces of ground were probably defended in this way. The entire wall is built of blocks of tufa, and no cement or mortar is used anywhere. The best remains of this wall are to be seen in the Aventine. It is best to take the road slanting to the right as you stand with your back to the Porta S. Paolo. If you go along the road you

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will see remains of the Servian Wall standing by themselves in a field.¹ There is also near the railway station in the Piazza Magnanapoli, at the beginning of the Via del Quirinale, a bit surrounded by a railing, and a little to the east of the station there is the best example of all, a solid bit of masonry 40 feet high. Before the railway was made the great ditch that protected the wall could be traced from here to the arch of Gallienus, close to the Via Carlo Alberto, not far from S. Maria Maggiore.

The Wall of Aurelian.—The later wall was first erected by the Emperor Aurelian in 271, and about a century afterwards was repaired and completed by Honorius. The greater part of this wall survives at the present day, and is one of the most interesting things in the world. It is built of concrete, faced with bricks of triangular shape, and extends for a circuit of twelve miles. The foundations are solid, but the upper part contains a covered way or passage, by which the garrison could pass safely from one portion of the wall to another. This is not closed on the inner side, but is lighted by a number of semicircular arches, so that it has rather the appearance of an aqueduct, and in some places the line of aqueducts is used as a wall when it is convenient to do so. The passage may be examined inside the walls near the Porta San

¹ Fragments are also to be seen between the churches of S. Saba and the Maltese Church on the Aventine, as well as near the Auditorio di Mecenate in the Via Merulana.

THE WALLS OF ROME

Giovanni, as you walk from the church of Santa Croce. There it is not difficult to climb up into the passage, and to go along it for some distance. It is also worth while, though a little more difficult, to climb into one of the towers of the Porta Asinaria, now closed. If we go outside we shall notice that the wall outside is much higher than it is within, on account of the fall of the ground. At intervals of every 100 feet the wall is strengthened by square towers 20 feet higher than the rest of the wall, containing a guard-room below and sleeping-rooms for the soldiers above. Very few of these towers have remained uninjured by time, and most of the battlements along the top of the wall are more or less damaged, yet the general aspect of the wall stretching across the country in a long line remains unaltered, and probably no other fortification recalls so many memories of past times. Perhaps the best way to get a general idea of the wall is to ride round the most interesting portions on a bicycle, or to drive. The road is in most places very good, and is not as fatiguing as many of those inside the city are.

We shall naturally begin our ride at the Porta del Popolo, the old Porta Flaminia. The obelisk in the piazza was brought to Rome from Egypt by Augustus in 10 B.C., and was placed in its present position by one of the Popes. The square is a fine one, and here and in the Corso we see modern Rome at its best.

The gate itself was constructed in 1561 by Vignola, though the two side doorways were

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added in our own time. The general effect of the columns in front is good.

It is supposed that the walls to our right as we go out of the gate are older than the rest, being in fact a part of the old garden walls of the Pincian, which the Emperors retained and incorporated with the new defences. Keeping close along the wall, we can see at the corner the reticulated brickwork of the Republic, where the wall is leaning over the road.

This is one of the prettiest places in Rome. The mass of trees on the left is very beautiful, and the wall is covered with creepers. In the Middle Ages women of ill fame were buried at the foot of the leaning wall. A little further on the wall has been mended by fragments of rubble, possibly by Belisarius, when preparing to resist the Gothic army.

Then we reach the *Porta Pinciana* of Honorius, with the old red brick towers of straight bricks and an archway of plain stone. Just opposite is an entrance to the gardens of the Villa Albani, where was the camp of the Gothic King. Here Belisarius made his famous sortie mounted on a white horse, in which he drove back the enemy with brilliant success, but was eventually obliged to retreat by force of numbers. Beyond this, as far as the *Porta Salaria*, keeping close to the walls, you have a delightful shade and a smooth path. The wall here is new in parts, but in some places very perfect. The towers are well preserved, retaining in some places even the upper parapet and the brick

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cornice just below. The old *Porta Salaria* was so injured by the bombardment of September, 1870, that it was almost entirely rebuilt, though a fragment of the old gate can still be seen. You now turn down the Corso d'Italia, past the place where the Italian army entered in 1870, which is usually overhung with wreaths, to the *Porta Pia*, a fine classical gate with Corinthian columns, which is said to have been built from designs by Michael Angelo in 1564. Here you get a pretty run of the long line of walls covered with green; a little further on you pass the old *Porta Romentana*, now closed, through which the Emperor Nero fled when he was deserted by the guards.

Now you pass the Pretorian Camp in which was placed the great bodyguard by which the Emperors maintained order among the huge crowds of Rome, and at the corner you get a lovely view of the mountains with low grass hills in front and a background of snow-covered summits. At this point the lower part of the wall belongs to the original camp of Tiberius, and the upper part was added by Aurelian. It is still possible to see the central gate of the camp embedded in the city wall, and its two graceful pilasters of moulded brick. Inside the wall are a number of little rooms in which the soldiers lived. In this camp the Empire was put up for sale in 193 A.D., and knocked down to Julianus, who offered the highest bribes to the soldiers. On the other side of it is another closed gate which led to the place where the

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wild beasts were kept for the games in the Colosseum. Keeping close by the walls we can notice the great blocks of tufa embedded in them; we also get another good view of the line of wall beyond.

Here is the *Porta S. Lorenzo*, once the Tiburtina, which was built of big plain blocks. The old gate has been partially destroyed, and is now closed. There is only one big tower now left near which the tramway to Tivoli passes. The new road now comes through an opening in the wall south-east of the gate. After passing *Porta S. Lorenzo* it is necessary to turn under the railway, and to keep close to the walls you have to pass through a rather disagreeable neighbourhood, full of small and poor houses, until you get to the *Porta Maggiore*. The walls here are best seen from inside, as they follow the line of the aqueducts, and the big square tower was one of the reservoirs from which the water was distributed.

The *Porta Maggiore* (*Praenestina*) is perhaps the most interesting gate in Rome, though originally it was not a gate at all, but a double arch constructed by Claudius for the passage of the *Aqua Claudia* from the Sabine Hills to Rome. Above this water flowed a second stream, the *Anio Novus*. The Emperor Honorius blocked up one of these archways and defended the other with towers that were built over tombs. When these were removed in 1838, the tomb of the baker Eurysaces and his wife was laid bare, and may still be seen just

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outside the gate. Below the aqueduct there are now three most curious archways with columns formed of round blocks of stone with Corinthian capitals. The exact date of these is uncertain, though they are probably the work of Claudius.

The next part of the wall can only be seen from the garden of Santa Croce, but it is worth while continuing our ride as far as the next gate. The road outside is crowded, as a rule, with country carts and oxen with peasant women in coloured robes, and the whole scene is pretty and animated. You must go straight out from the gate and take the first turning to the right under the aqueduct. The archway here is worth noticing on account of its excellent construction, and the beautiful way in which the bricks are fitted upon the concrete. A little further on is a splendid view of S. Giovanni and the Porta Asinaria. The big statues over the church have here a wonderfully grand effect in the clear air, and you have a good view of the big tower of the gate with a background of green trees. A bit of the wall before you reach San Giovanni has been uncovered, and just beyond you get a splendid view of the long line of wall stretching away into the distance.

A little before you reach the Porta S. Giovanni you pass the Amphitheatrum Castrense, a small amphitheatre of burnt brick, probably for training gladiators and animals for the great exhibitions in the Colosseum.

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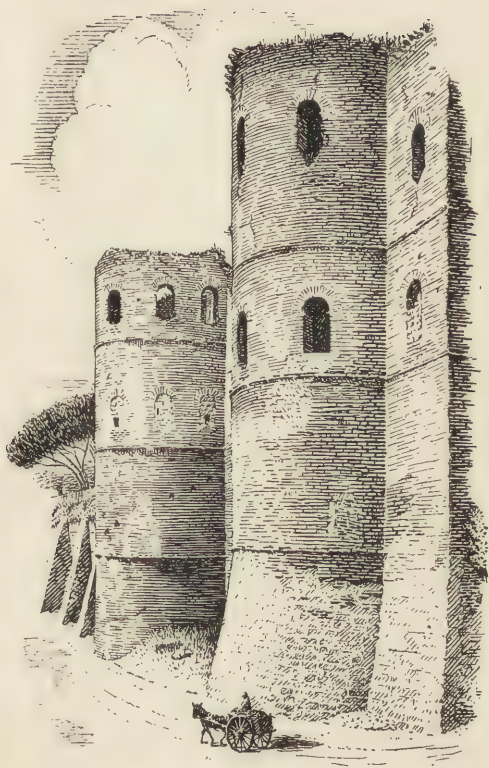
The Porta S. Giovanni was built in 1574, but is not very interesting, while a very little further on is the Porta Asinaria of Honorius, which, though it is partly buried in the land by the accumulation of soil, is one of the best preserved gates.

Close by the wall of Aurelian has been united with the outside wall of the old Lateran Palace, which was presented by Constantine to the Pope as a site for a church. The row of arched windows in the wall belonged to this palace.

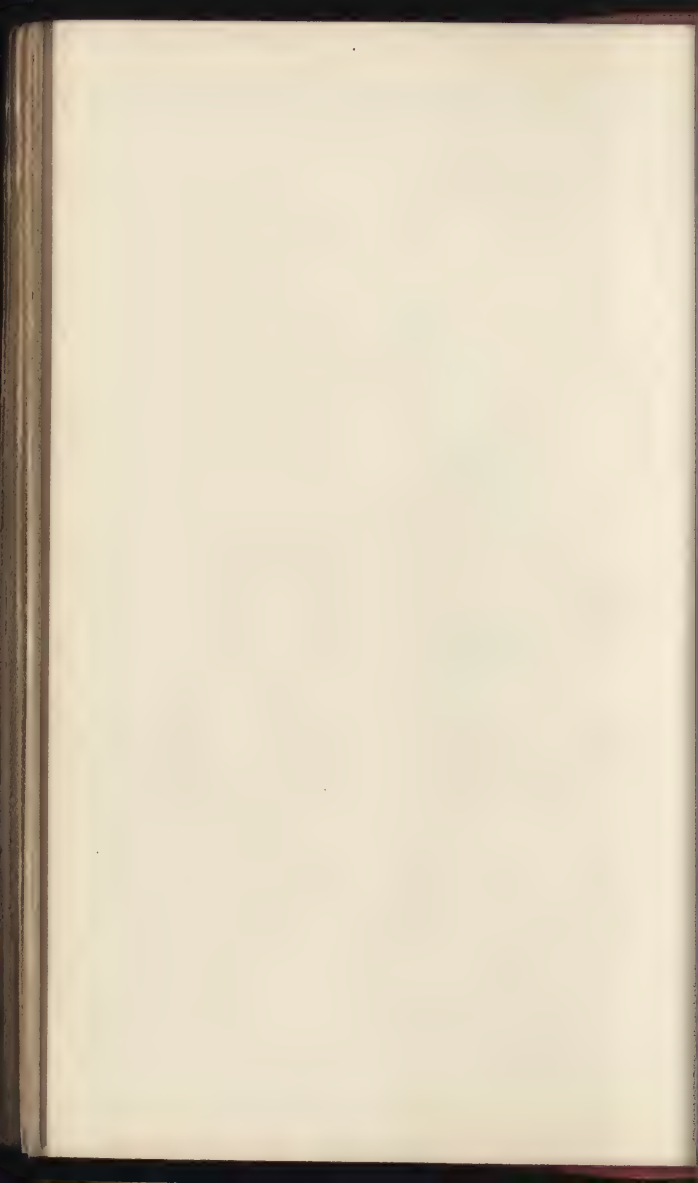
The road outside the wall is not so good beyond this, and it is perhaps not necessary to ride any further. The wall near here was repaired by the great Emperor Barbarossa in 1157. The two next gates are closed, though the second, the Porta Latina, through which ran the old Via Latina, is well preserved. The *Porta San Sebastiano* is the next gate still used for traffic, and is well worth seeing, as it was constructed in great measure from the remains of the temple of Mars that stood outside the walls. On one of the marble blocks is a curious mediæval image of S. Michael and the Devil. The wall over the marble archway has five windows. This gate, like many others, had a portcullis; it was called Appia because the great Appian Road passed beneath it.

Just in front is the arch of Drusus, which is one of the very oldest remains in Rome, and was probably erected in 8 B.C. in honour of Claudius Drusus.

The wall, after passing the Porta S. Sebas-



PORTA · ASINARIA
B · C · B



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tiano, runs past the great bastion erected by Sangallo, who destroyed a large part of the old Roman Wall and one gate in order to erect the rampart for Paul III. In some places bits of marble have been used to repair the wall. The inscriptions of the Popes that are so often found over gates only mean that they repaired more or less the parts of the wall that were fallen down.

The next gate, the last before the wall reaches the Tiber, is the famous Porta San Paolo, the old Porta Ostiensis, the best preserved of all the gates in the Aurelian Wall. "The central part of the gate, with its arched doorway, is of travertine, the outer arch is grooved to receive a portcullis, and from the inner and higher arch two travertine corbels project, which received the upper parts of the doors, the lower ones being let into holes in a massive travertine threshold. Above this stone archway is a battlement wall of brick faced with concrete, pierced with a row of seven arched windows, opening into a gate chamber, with similar windows on the inside. On each side are two brick-faced towers, with semicircular projections on the outside" (Middleton, *Rome*, p. 494).

This fine gate was erected by Honorius, as we can see from the brick cross placed over one of the windows.

Just outside the gate is the pyramid of Cestius, whose body was placed in a small chamber within. Agrippa erected it in honour of Caius Cestius, who left a sum of money for the purpose. It

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was through this gate that the Apostle S. Paul was led to suffer martyrdom. His head was cut off outside the city walls, on the road to Ostia, very probably near the Tre Fontane, and he must have seen this pyramid on the way to execution.

The Later Walls.—The wall of Aurelian now runs only as far as the Tiber, and the lofty towers that protected Rome from an attack by sea have long disappeared. The Porta Settimiana, at the end of the long Via della Lungara, belongs to the ancient wall that runs round Trastevere; but, with the exception of a few bits here and there, the walls on the Vatican side of the Tiber were built by the Popes. About 846 B.C., Leo IV. built a wall to defend S. Peter's and the Borgo, which, at that time, were outside Rome, from the Saracens. The best place to examine it closely is in the Vatican Gardens, which visitors are allowed to enter. Towards the top of the hill there is a very fine stretch of wall, and the fortifications of this quarter, which was then a little fortress of itself, were strengthened by round towers, two of which still remain. This wall is well worth examination, as it differs considerably from the later Papal walls which united the whole quarter round the Vatican with the rest of the town. It would appear that the defences of Rome were weaker on this side of the Tiber, for most of the assaults, after those of the Goths, were made in this direction.

Capture of Rome by Bourbon.—It was at this part that the Constable Bourbon, who com-

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manded an army of mercenaries in the service of the Emperor Charles V., made his attack on Rome. "In the grey dawn of March 6th, Bourbon's forces advanced to the attack, carrying such ladders as they found in the neighbouring vineyards. They chose the part where the walls were lowest, on the summit of the Vatican Hill, between the gates of S. Pancrazio and S. Spirito."¹ At first the cannon from the castle of S. Angelo scattered their ranks, but the rising sun caused a dense fog, under cover of which the besiegers advanced to the walls: "The Duke of Bourbon was foremost in the assault, and when he reached the walls seized a ladder and called his men to follow. Scarcely had he placed his foot upon it before a ball from a musket struck him in the groin, and he fell to the ground. He was borne from the field, and he lived long enough to receive the last sacraments, and to express a wish that the Prince of Orange should succeed to his command." "The fall of their leader only increased the fury of his followers, and the attack became so fierce in so many places that the defenders grew bewildered. When a few Spanish soldiers appeared unexpectedly on the walls of the Borgo, a cry was raised, 'The enemy are in the city,' and every man fled to seek safety for himself." Rome was taken, and the Pope escaped with difficulty to the castle of S. Angelo. "Then began a scene of unimaginable horror: a horde of 40,000 ruffians, free from

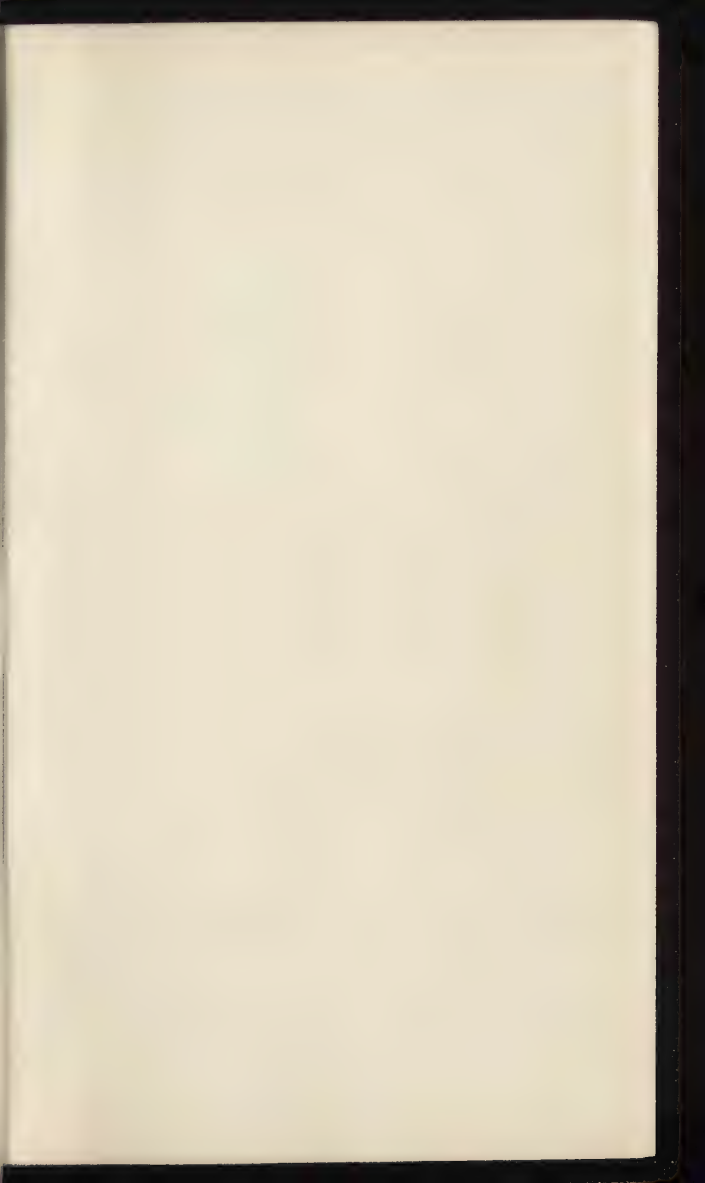
¹ Creighton's *History of the Papacy*.

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all restraint, gratified their elemental lusts and passions at the expense of the most cultivated population in the world." Rome never recovered her former splendour.

After the plunder of Rome, in 1527, Paul III. intended to construct an entirely new wall, with enormous bastions, like the piece constructed by Sangallo, near the Porta Sebastiano, but this plan was never completely carried out. The present wall, which can easily be distinguished from the Imperial wall, because it has bastions instead of towers, is the work of Urban VIII. The Porta S. Pancrazio, on the summit of Janiculum, was built after the capture of Rome, in 1849, by the French, who completely destroyed the original gate of Urban. The gate itself has no beauty, but the road through it leads to the Pamphili Gardens, which are, perhaps, the prettiest in Rome, and contain several curious old tombs (p. 158).

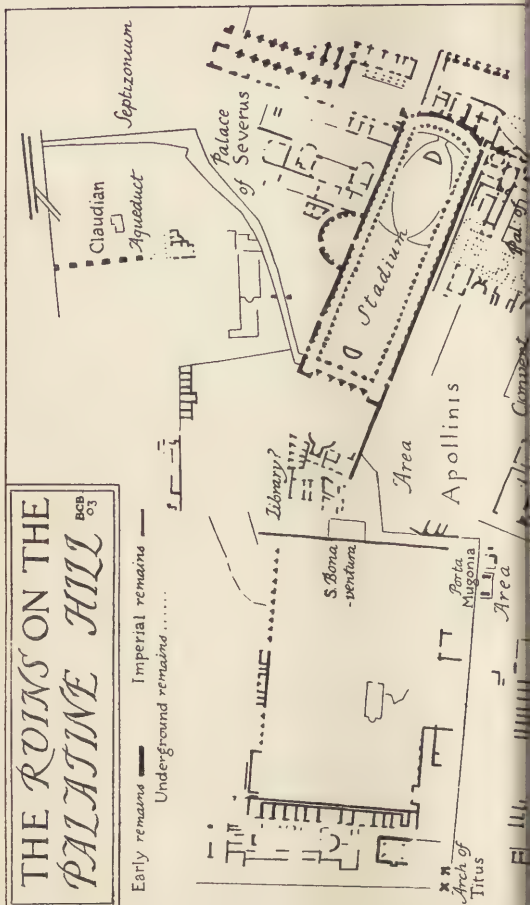
The whole circuit of the Roman walls are full of interest ; other famous fortifications have fallen into ruins, and only a few fragments remain ; but these still look down upon the modern traveller, as they have looked down upon soldiers and priests, prophets and kings of countless nations and peoples, on men who have changed the course of history, on humble pilgrims and sightseers innumerable from our own land and the whole habitable world.

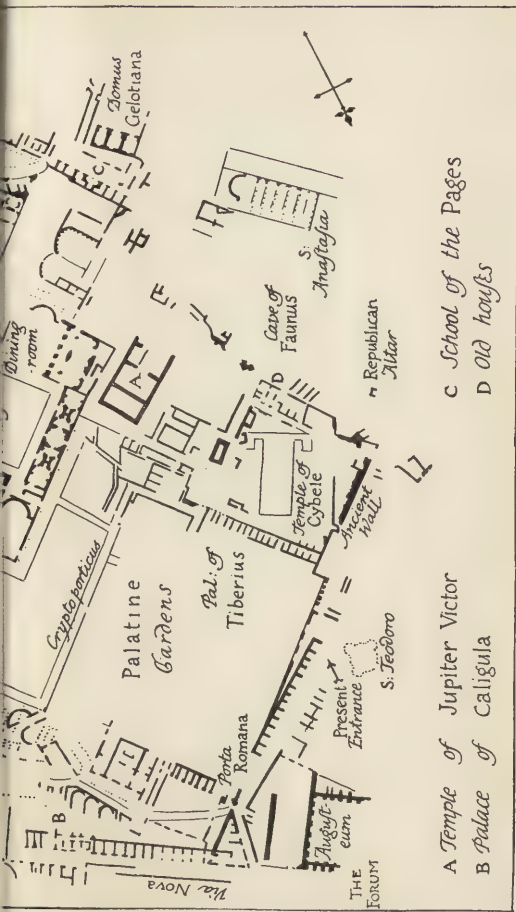


THE RUINS ON THE PALATINE HILL

BCB
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Early remains — Imperial remains —
Underground remains





c School of the Pages

D Old houses

A Temple of Jupiter Victor

B Palace of Caligula



CHAPTER III.

THE PALATINE.

It is certain that the earliest Romans built their city on the Palatine Hill, and during the whole period of Roman history the remains of these primitive buildings were treated with reverence and were carefully preserved when the hill was covered with the villas of the nobles or the great palaces of Imperial times. The original walls of the city were built round the cliff which surrounded the hill, and when the city had extended to the other hills and valleys, the Palatine was preserved for the temples of the gods and the abodes of the higher classes, and was never suffered to become the home of the poor or the degraded. In ancient times it had probably three gates, the Porta Mugonia, on the side facing the arch of Titus, the Romana, near the church of S. Teodoro, and the present entrance, and a gate or at least an approach near the steps of Cacus, on the side facing the present church of S. Anastasia.

Some early Remains.—The greater part of the ruins now visible belong to the great palaces built by the Emperors, and the towers and

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monasteries that covered the hill in the Middle Ages have nearly all been removed. One or two buildings still remain to recall the name of the Farnese family who occupied the Palatine from the sixteenth century almost to the present day. The land is now Government property except a small portion which is still held by the Convent of the Visitation, who occupy a villa once possessed by an Englishman named Mills.

In going over the Palatine it is best not to take a guide who hurries the visitor so rapidly over everything that it is impossible to carry away any definite idea of the ruins. It is, however, almost impossible to suggest any way of going over it that is not open to objection, because remains of every age are often closely mingled and most travellers have not time to see everything in the order of their antiquity. On entering the ruins by the present wicket gate we see before us the church of S. Teodoro ; immediately on the right and almost in front of us a fragment of wall constructed of great rectangular blocks of tufa put together without mortar. This is the wall of the earliest settlement of the Latins in Rome, which at one time surrounded the whole Palatine, and is generally called the wall of Romulus. If we wish to see the oldest remains first, let us take the path to the right for a short way on passing the church. As we walk along past the wall we shall see many wonderful galleries which are nothing else than the remains of the quarries from which these stones were brought.

THE PALATINE

Behind the wall is a cistern which served to supply water to the garrison in very early times.

Continuing our walk we see at the exact point at which the path turns to the left an altar of travertine ornamented with an inscription which was discovered here in 1829. It is probably of Republican date and resembles in style the sarcophagus of Scipio Barbatus in the Vatican ; it is dedicated to an unknown god and was restored by Calvinus who lived in the time of Cicero.

The Augusteum.—Retracing our steps to the entrance for the sake of convenience, let us take the path to the left which goes up a slight ascent along an ancient road with arches above it, from which we have a fine view of masses of great buildings beneath us and of the recent excavations which are still going on. This great building is the Augusteum, the temple erected in honour of Augustus by his wife Livia and his son the Emperor Tiberius, which was built in a different style from that of ordinary temples and contained several halls, some of which in later times when Rome had become Christian were used for the church of S. Maria Antiqua.

The Palace of Caligula.—The road along which we are passing is the ancient Clivus Victoriæ, and the mass of buildings on the right are the remains of the great palace that Caligula erected on the site of the houses of Catulus, Clodius, Cicero and many other great men of the Republican era. Caligula may have

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used some of their walls as substructures for his own palace, and he did not block up the road but built over it by means of arches many of which still remain. The road that led up to the Palatine from the Forum, down which in later days the early Popes descended to the chapel in S. Maria, should be noticed, beautifully paved with small bricks, turning in many places to ascend the steep incline. The lower part of the palace went down the hill and faced the Nova Via which separated it from the House of the Vestals in the Forum. We see as we go along a number of small staircases which were probably used by slaves and some magnificent flights of stairs ten feet wide that led no doubt to the upper rooms, some of which were beautifully fitted up. There are still a few mosaic pavements and coloured marbles in the walls as well as a few ceilings in plaster, and some reliefs in stucco representing, as the excellent French guide says, "*des figures très jolies de femmes et de génies*," all of which may easily be seen by climbing some of the stairs.

The pretty little marble screen is not original, but was placed here by Rosa, though there was no doubt a parapet very much like it, as the rooms here opened on a sort of balcony surrounding a court in which the soldiers of the Guard lived and where many scurrilous writings have been found. All the lower rooms were used only by the great army of servants and soldiers who were employed in the service of the Court, and were probably originally lighted

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by means of skylights ; but this is not certain. The pipes that may often be seen in the walls are for smoke or for rain water and no doubt the palace was carefully drained.

In the eighth century what remained of the palaces became for a time the residence of the Popes, and it was then that the church of S. Maria Antiqua was built and used as the private chapel of Pope John VII.

At the end of the path we are following we come out upon a fine terrace in front of the Casino built by the Farnese, an uninteresting building that might well be removed. Beneath us is a flight of steps leading down to some well furnished rooms, now ornamented with a fountain of running water, which are very cool and pleasant, lighted by a plain brick window over which the green ivy creeps, and which were possibly added by Nero when he erected his golden house, or they may be a part of Caligula's palace.

The Casino itself is built on some of the lower chambers that were used by slaves.

The Cryptoporticus.— On reaching the terrace the best plan is to turn sharp to the right, which will take you to a long covered passage or cryptoporticus with a mosaic floor lighted by windows under the roof. The passage to the left leads to the great State apartments added by the Flavian Emperors, and the stairs on the right led to the house of Tiberius.

This covered passage is famous in history as

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the scene of the assassination of Caligula, which is so vividly related by the historian Josephus. A centurion named Cherea who had long served Caligula faithfully was so indignant at being compelled to torture an innocent woman that he conspired against him. For a long time no opportunity occurred, but it chanced that Caligula was returning from the games through this narrow passage to his palace on the day that Cherea was on guard. The conspirators attacked him while speaking to some actors from Asia and slew him. They were in a position of much danger, for the passage was crowded with attendants and the German Guard were within call. Fearing therefore to escape by way of the Forum, they ran along the passage and took refuge in the house of Germanicus outside.

We may imitate their example and visit this beautiful instance of a Roman private house, which is close to the end of the Cryptoporticus, and which is discussed in another part of the book (p. 65).

The Palatine Gardens.—Near the house are a number of interesting buildings, some of which are difficult to identify, but before trying to do so let us spend a few moments in the beautiful gardens that cover the greater part of the palaces. In the direction of the Capitol just below us is the shapeless mass of ruin where they have lately discovered the early Christian church, but above it we have a lovely view of the graceful portico of the Dii Consentes, with

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the huge mass of the Senatorial Palace. It was in these gardens that the famous Accademia degli Arcadi held their first meetings.

When we go out of the house of Livia we find ourselves on open ground covered with fragments of building. Almost the first thing we see is an ancient cistern round in shape built of great blocks of tufa, and probably of the same date as the wall of Romulus.

The old arcade under the garden belongs to the *palace of Tiberius*, and would seem to have been part of the lower chambers that were used for the soldiers of the Guard. One man has made a curious sketch of Nero, and another has written, "*Omnia formosis cupio donari puellis*". The palace contained a magnificent library in which the State Papers were deposited, which were destroyed by the great fire in the reign of Commodus.

The palace occupied that corner of the Palatine that looks upon the Velabrum, and before Caligula had added his wing it extended almost to the Clivus Victoriæ.

The Temple of Cybele.—On the south it extended as far as the temple of Cybele, the remains of which we see before us consisting of a round platform and some fragments of columns. The temple was burned soon after the Second Punic War and was restored by Augustus; a headless statue has been found near of a female, which has been identified as that of the goddess. There is also by the side of the temple a *Cippus* engraven with four

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letters, M D M I, probably, "Magnæ Deorum Matri Ideæ".

The stone steps in front, no doubt, belonged to the temple, and if we go a little way down the hill we shall come to the remains of several houses of the Republican period.

These are very interesting, and in particular the small bathrooms, that still contain lead pipes in the walls for the hot water, and the pretty mosaic pavements are worth notice. The rooms, some of which are cased with marble, are very small, and give a good idea of the modest houses used by the great Romans of earlier times, even compared with the dwellings in the provincial towns under the Empire.

Remains of the Time of the Kings.—This part of the Palatine was preserved in its old state until the fall of the Empire, because it contained a number of relics of old Rome that were held in reverence by the people. There was a wooden hut that was said to have been the one in which Romulus and Remus were nourished by the wolf, and which was renewed from time to time in the old style. This hut stood near the top of the hill, at the head of a flight of steps that led down to the famous cave of Faunus, and by which Vitellius fled to the Aventine after the capture of Rome by Vespasian. It is said that the tufa foundations of the hut still remain, and also that some fragments of a wall of square blocks may be noticed, but it is very hard to positively identify them, and the authorities differ in opinion.

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The present path winds down the hill past the modern cottage, close to which is a fragment of old wall, and also some work in *opus reticulatum*.

At the bottom are a number of fragments of statues and pieces of old columns.

Here you come to the other end of Tiberius's palace, most of which is under the garden. From the path you look on the chimneys of the gas-works, and the Jewish cemetery, with its dark trees, the site of the old Circus Maximus, while in the background is the Aventine and its monasteries. There was an old cave or grotto at the foot of the hill, close to the Circus, sacred to Faunus, and which, it is said, was ornamented by the famous bronze statue of the wolf, now in the Capitol, which was discovered near the church of S. Anastasius.

Temple of Jupiter Victor.—Retracing our steps up the hill to Cybele's Temple, we find a flat space extending as far as the old coffee-house of the Farnese Gardens, which has some pretty frescoes upon its walls. The building near it is the temple of Jupiter Victor, which, as we may see from the great blocks of tufa that compose the cella, is of Republican date, though it was restored later. A very interesting inscription says that C. Domitius, who was one of Cæsar's generals, constructed it. Between the two temples are a number of old buildings of Republican date, and on the other side of the coffee-house is the palace of Domitian.

On the second day of our visit let us go at

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once from the entrance to the casino of the Farnese Gardens that faces the Forum. If we go straight on we shall reach the gates of the convent that now stands on the grounds of the Villa Mills.

The Porta Mugonia.—Here a wide road leads along the edge of the convent wall, past several ancient remains, to a somewhat higher platform, where you enter the Flavian Palace. The open space was called the Area Palatina, and a road in old times called the Summa Nova Via ran along it parallel to the Sacra Via, and leading up to the Porta Mugonia, the remains of which can still be seen just before you reach the palace. The great basement of brick was long supposed to be the cella of the temple of Jupiter Stator, which was rebuilt by Attilius Regulus after the defeat of the Samnites, but it is almost certain that it really stood near the arch of Titus.

The Flavian Palace.—The traveller who crossed the space would see before him the grand façade of the Flavian Palace, supported by enormous columns of Cipollino, of which some fragments still remain. The Emperor Vespasian, after destroying the golden house of Nero, which had absorbed so much of the public land, built these great State apartments in which to receive ambassadors, and to hear judicial cases, as well as for public banquets. A passage leads into it from the private residence of the Emperors, now called the palace of Tiberius and Caligula ; and the Emperors until the time of Heraclius, 629

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A.D., were crowned there. Three great halls opened into the vestibule. The central one was the throne-room, which was terminated by an apse, in which was placed the Emperor's throne. Eight enormous niches round the wall held colossal statues of marble, and an elegant cornice ran round the hall, supported by sixteen marble columns. Some traces of the ornaments still remain : an exquisitely carved cherub on horseback and a woman's hand on a man's shoulder may be noticed.

The room on the left as you enter has been called the Lararium, or domestic sanctuary of the palace, and the remains of the great staircase that led to the upper rooms may be seen here.

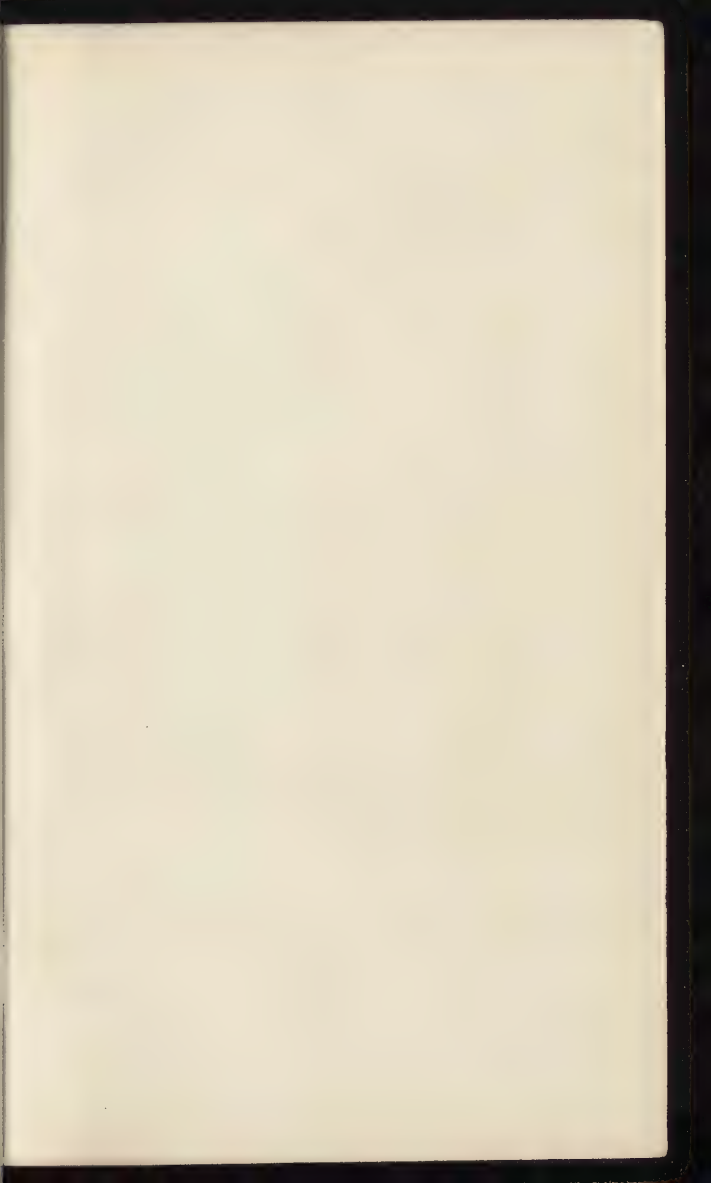
That on the right is, no doubt, the Judgment Hall of the Emperors, and was probably a building very like the present church of S. Agnese Fuori. The apse is separated from the body of the hall by a railing, which, however, is not original, though very likely there was a similar one. The nave, if we may so call it, was separated from the aisles by the rows of Corinthian columns, above which was an entablature and an open gallery for the spectators. Behind these three halls is the enormous courtyard of the palace, round which ran a covered colonnade, and out of which opened the State dining-room and other apartments. The part on the left is still buried beneath the Convent of the Visitation. It was in these corridors that the Emperor Domitian, towards the sad end of his wicked life, passed the time he devoted to exer-

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cise ; and, in his dread of all who approached him, caused the walls to be lined with polished marble, to reflect the image of any one behind him. From this peristyle we enter a large hall, which is almost certainly the great dining-room. At the State banquets the Emperor sat in the apse, which has preserved its fine pavement in *opus sectile*, of numerous pieces of the finest marble so arranged as to form a geometrical pattern ; and there are a few fragments of the granite columns that surrounded the hall. To the right is a room that was used for meals in hot weather, with a fountain in the centre, lighted by large windows, through which the air could pass freely while the water played. The soldiers who slew Pertinax rushed through this hall to the banqueting-room to find the Emperor.

A room of equal size to this, no doubt, exists on the other side, and beneath are numerous chambers containing baths and servants' offices and wine cellars, all of which are now buried, but which were often of exquisite beauty. The little portico of Corinthian columns outside was placed there by Rosa, and from it you get a fine view of the Aventine. In front of the portico are a marble pavement and a hall, so that the palace must have extended almost to the verge of the hill.

The School of the Pages.—Let us rapidly descend the hill past the gardener's cottage, and the small rooms with mosaics, from which we may see a Gothic window in the church of S. Anastasius, which lies in front of us. At the





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bottom, if we turn to the left, we come almost at once to a house built up against the remains of the primitive wall, with a portico of later date. This is said, from the inscriptions found in some of the rooms, to have been the place of education of the Imperial pages ; and this portico represents one side of the atrium, or open court of the house. The sculptures, which are well carved, and in the best style, have probably been brought from the inner part of the court, and placed where they are, when the portico was rebuilt. We can read in one of the rooms the names of the boys who were leaving, "Euphemus exit de pedagogio".

One amusing writing says : "Work, little ass, as I have worked, and may it profit thee". The famous drawing of a man praying before an ass, which is preserved in the *Collegio Romano*, and was, no doubt, a caricature of a Christian boy, was found here also. Some remains also exist of a house purchased by Caligula, in order to win the games of the Circus more easily, called the *Domus Gelotiana*, from the name of the owner. The best rooms can be visited from No. 45, *Via dei Cerchi*, near the gasworks, where there are some fine frescoes in one of the rooms, rapidly decaying. If we go straight on up an incline, with the Jewish cemetery on the right, we come to the great stadium of Severus ; but let us first enter the door cut in the wall on the left, which takes us into the palace of Augustus.

The Palace of Augustus.—The Emperor himself was born on the Palatine, and lived for

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many years in the house of Hortensius ; but, after it had been destroyed by fire, the people subscribed to build him a palace worthy of the ruler of the world. It was the magnificent façade of this palace that the poet Ovid could see in imagination as he stood near the temple of Jupiter Stator, when an exile in the frozen wastes of Tomi.

The palace was almost destroyed in the fire of Nero, but was rebuilt by Domitian with great magnificence, as we know from the record of the rooms destroyed, by those who have excavated the site.

Many of the rooms are very finely built, and some are octagonal in shape, with round and square niches in turn, beautifully lighted from the top by a round window. A bit of marble carving may be noticed, representing a laurel, and the drains in the floors are worth noticing.

At the back of the palace was a magnificent circular gallery, from which the Emperor could view the games that took place in the Circus.

The great open space by which we enter, with the picturesque monastery above us, was a great open court, the wall of which is still covered with frescoes. It is an exquisitely pretty scene in spring, with the tall dark Eastern trees above us, and the green creepers on the old wall.

On the other side of the house of Augustus, now occupied by the monastery, was a magnificent temple of Apollo, one of the finest in Rome, built entirely of white marble, and sur-

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rounded by statues, with the four-horsed chariot of the god in bronze in front.

The Stadium.—But let us return to the stadium. There once ran round the entire building a great portico of brick columns, covered with rose marble, above which was a gallery for the spectators. We may notice the remains of the columns, and especially one enormous Corinthian capital ; and some of the pillars have preserved their marble covering.

Much of the building is the work of Hadrian, and the great semicircular apse was added by Alexander Severus. The upper storey of this, no doubt, served as an Imperial box, and the lower consisted of the halls for the use of the officials. The whole in the Middle Ages formed a part of the robber castle of the Frangipani.

The building was repaired by Theodoric, who supported the wall with buttresses.

Between the stadium and S. Bonaventura a few remains have been discovered of the Bibliotheca and of some large water tanks beneath it.

The Palace of Severus.—From the stadium we enter the vast rooms of the palace of Alexander Severus, which, on account of the incline of the hill on this side, is supported by substructures, in order that it should be on the same level as the other buildings.

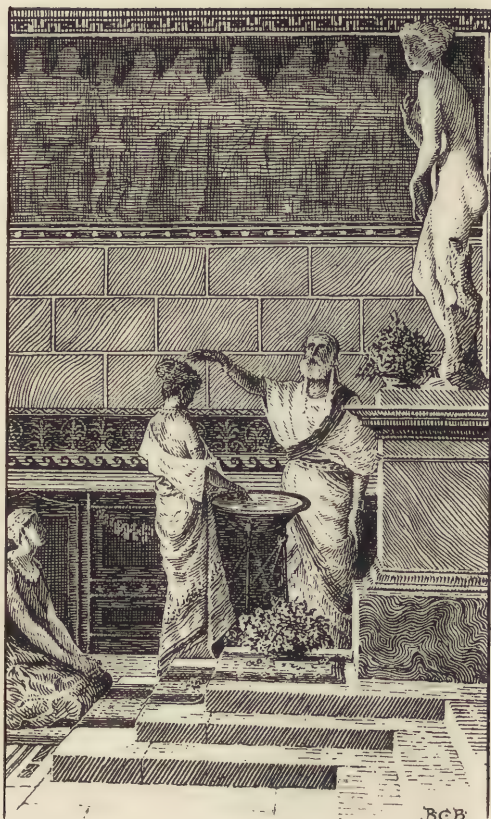
There were included in it magnificent baths, and a number of very fine halls, but very little has remained except the supporting walls.

We may still ascend what remains of the magnificent marble staircase that led from the

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stadium, and the roofs of some of the rooms are interesting, as they were composed of intersecting vaults very like those in Gothic churches. In front of the palace towards the south was a great tower of seven storeys, called the Septizonium, which has entirely disappeared, but which was in existence, though in a ruined state, as late as the sixteenth century. From the upper storeys of the palace we have a magnificent view. Just below is the line of aqueducts, a branch of the great Claudian Aqueduct that supplied the palace with water. Right in front are the huge remains of Caracalla's baths, and the steps before S. Gregorio ; and a little to the left the beautiful little Gothic arcade outside SS. Giovanni e Paolo, the dome and the fine campanile. On the right is the Aventine and the pyramid of Cestius, near the Porta S. Paolo ; and on the left the great pile of the Colosseum. It is a good point at which to complete the study of the Palatine.





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IN THE TEMPLE OF VENUS (G. Sciuti.)

CHAPTER IV.

TEMPLES AND PRIVATE HOUSES.

Temples.—It is probable that the visitor when he is first at Rome will be disappointed with the temples that he sees. The few columns and remains that exist give him no idea of their former beauty, and it is not until he sees the simple and grand temples at Pestum, near Naples, that he realises how very fine they really must have been. If he is able to stop at Nîmes on his way and to see the temple there, now known as the Maison Carrée, he will be able to realise what the Roman temples really looked like. That beautiful temple is of late work, and the columns are buried in the walls; but that was also the case with most of the Roman ones, and it is even more like what they were than the temples of Pestum, which are of Greek origin, though in their way they are equally beautiful. The earliest temples in Rome were almost certainly Etruscan in their style. We hear from Vitruvius that this people had two kinds of temples, one circular like the tombs, and the other rectangular; but that they had always three rooms inside and were dedicated to the worship of three gods, and were therefore much

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wider than the Greek temples. The only temple that was clearly Etruscan of which we know anything in Rome was that of the Capitoline Jupiter. This was built where the palace of the German Embassy now stands, and a part of its platform can still be seen under the garden.¹

The General Form of the Temples.—All the later temples are imitated from those in Greece and present the general form of the well-known temples in Athens and elsewhere. The central room in which the statue of the deity stood, which is called the cella, was in Greece completely surrounded by columns as it were in a box, so that at a little distance you see only rows of pillars crowned by slabs of stone or marble, placed horizontally upon them, and resting on these the slanting roof. The general appearance when the temple is not surrounded by lofty buildings is very fine, and probably the peristyle, as the rows of columns were called, was very useful in protecting the painting that usually covered the side of the cella. The horizontal part above the pillars is called the entablature, and has several divisions such as the architrave and the frieze, and in front of the temple there is of course the space

¹ It was often destroyed by fire but was always rebuilt in the Etruscan style, and we possess several pictures of it on ancient monuments. It had the doors and the columns separating them so wide apart that the architrave above was obliged to be of wood; the columns themselves are rude and plain and are not detached.

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between two sloping portions of the roof which is called the tympanum.

The Greeks had several styles which are distinguished chiefly by the differences in the columns that surrounded the cella. The Doric, which is the simplest and perhaps the most beautiful, has no base to the pillars and the shaft of the column is smaller towards the top, and is divided into twenty small divisions by what are called flutings. The capital immediately above each pillar is very simple, and so is the whole entablature, but its plain surface was often covered by exquisite carved stone figures. There are no remains existing of any Doric temple in Rome, but the row of columns in the church of S. Pietro in Vincoli is a most beautiful example of that style. We know that the Romans often added a base and used plain columns without flutes.

The *Ionic Column* may always be recognised by the two large spirals or volutes at the top of the shaft, which is of the same thickness from top to bottom and is placed on a small base. The temple of Saturn in the Forum belongs to this order, and in many of the churches there are Ionic columns. The Romans placed the volutes angleways so that the face was seen on each side. The very interesting temple near the Ponte Rotto, now the church of S. Maria Egiziaca, has seven Ionic columns on the side, four of which were originally half buried in the walls, and the other two formed the portico, and there are also some beautiful Ionic columns

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belonging to some old temple in S. Lorenzo Fuori.

But the favourite Roman style was *the Corinthian*. This was little used in Greece and only in later times. It was less simple and easily lent itself to that excess of ornament that the Romans loved. The Corinthian capital consists of the leaves of the Acanthus surmounted by four volutes at the angles; this was placed at the top of a column rather more slender than the Ionic but otherwise much the same. The Greek leaves were more like those of the real Acanthus, while the Roman were more artificial. Examples of the Greek Corinthian capitals may be seen in the British Museum, and of the Roman everywhere in Rome, and especially in the portico of the Pantheon, the temple of Mars Ultor, and many of the temples in the Forum. The Roman pillars are better than the Greek in this style and are often most pleasing, but the entablature above is not seldom too richly carved, and the cornices are very prominent, and it must be added are often very good. Some fine pieces of the temple of Concord and of other temples may be seen in the Tabularium on the Capitol.

In the Greek temples, the order of columns, though it supported the architrave and the roof, yet stood free from the walls of the cella, but at Rome the pillars were often built in into the side walls, as may be seen in the temple near the Ponte Rotto and in the Maison Carrée at Nîmes.

Their uses.—In most of the temples there

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was an altar at which sacrifices were performed by the priests, who received a fixed remuneration ; the hides and skin of the victim were always the property of the temple, and sometimes the priests received a part of the body also, but usually the flesh was taken home by the sacrificer for his own use. It was customary to bring wreaths and offerings of fruit to the image of the deity and to offer prayer, but no public form of prayer was ever used by the priests and there was nothing resembling our own services.

The temples used were also as modern churches in Rome are often now, as museums and picture galleries, and were frequently crowded with sculpture of all kinds. There are traces of strong rooms in the massive concrete that formed the foundation of several of the Roman temples, and in some silver cups, vases and statues have been discovered.

Professor Lanciani has pointed out that there were in the temple of Apollo on the Palatine many beautiful statues of the gods and a bronze statue of Augustus fifty feet high, a great chandelier once dedicated by Alexander the Great, gold-plate, gems, ivory carvings and two libraries, as well as many other priceless possessions. And this temple was only one of many that possessed equally valuable treasures. There were also many thousand votive gifts of humble men, offerings to favourite gods and goddesses, small cups and bracelets and earrings and many articles of dress, and from the very poor little statuettes and images in terra-cotta.

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They were profusely decorated inside with all sorts of bright marbles, porphyry, painted stucco and mosaics, and niches were made in the walls in which were placed marble statues of the gods and distinguished men.

For those who have time it is very interesting to study the technical details of temple architecture. Any one who intends to do this should begin by reading the article on "Templa" in the *Dictionary of Classical Antiquities*. Some points are still doubtful, such as how far colour was used to ornament the marble and in what way the temples were lighted. These, however, rather concern the Greek temples ; for it is tolerably certain that the Romans relied more on elaborate carving and the use of bright-coloured marbles than on painting, and that in many of their temples they used windows to light the interior of the cella. Where this was not done they may have employed an opening in the roof such as the Greeks certainly used in some cases. There is nothing in the world more perfect than the single round opening in the roof of the Pantheon, and the rain has never proved a serious inconvenience as it falls on the marble floor.

We have many classical buildings in England that in themselves are really beautiful, but which do not appear to us to be so from their surroundings. The porticoes and rows of pillars are not suited to the smoke and tall houses of English towns. It requires an effort to appreciate the exquisite proportions of S. George's

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Hall in the fog and blackness of Liverpool. It is probable that even the great temple at Pestum would look squat and mean if it was overshadowed by great shops and factories, but standing as it does alone, with its simple outline in a perfectly clear atmosphere, its beauty is evident to the least artistic. It is simply that the classical style was suited to its age and faith, just as the great Gothic cathedrals and monasteries were suited to theirs. Of those buildings in modern times that are without doubt imitations of Roman or Greek buildings, next to St. George's Hall the most successful is the Madeleine Church in Paris. It suffers from its surroundings, as it should properly be placed alone on rising ground ; but it is a very perfect imitation of a temple of the Corinthian order, and outside at least it is very strong and beautiful and it enables us to form a very correct idea of the appearance of a great Roman temple.

With the exception of the Pantheon, which is built in a different style, there is no temple at Rome still existing that has not been considerably altered, but enough remains to enable us from our recollections of the temples elsewhere to form a fair idea of their original form and appearance.

The Temples of the Forum Boarium.—The group of temples in the old Forum Boarium near the Ponte Rotto are probably the oldest in Rome and are in some respects the best preserved. This forum was the principal cattle market of Rome, where the beasts were brought

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from the country for sale, though they could not be killed on the spot. The headquarters of the corn supply of Rome were somewhere near here, and the great stores of grain that were brought annually from the fertile provinces of Sicily, Egypt, Africa and others were placed in great warehouses near this Forum, from which they were distributed to the inhabitants of Rome, whom the Emperor found it necessary to keep in good humour.

The small circular building generally called the temple of Vesta, and which may have been dedicated to Hercules, is built of blocks of white marble and is surrounded by a circle of Corinthian columns.

The stone foundation dates from the early times of the Republic, but the rest of the building, except the roof which is modern, is the work of Augustus.

The temple of Fortuna, now called the church of S. Maria Egiziaca, opposite the house of Rienzi as it is called, is a still more ancient building, and may possibly be as early as 214 B.C., in which case it is the oldest temple in Rome. The cella is built of blocks of tufa and so are also the engaged columns, which are a beautiful example of the Ionic style ; the porch, which had formerly two fine columns, has been walled up to increase the length of the church.

In the church of *S. Maria in Cosmedin* may be seen some ten columns of the old temple of Ceres built up in the church walls. The capitals

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are in what is called the Composite style, which is really a variety of the Corinthian, and are the work of Augustus and his successor who restored the temple.¹

There are also fragments of another temple which has been incorporated in the church. The columns are of different sizes and at the back of the building are the walls of an old cella. The church itself is very interesting on account of its beautiful pavement and mosaics.

At the edge of the market place in a side road leading from the Piazza dei Cerchi is a curious marble arch with four faces containing niches for the reception of statues.

It is supposed to have been a place of shelter in rough weather for the merchants and others who resorted to the market, though it was formerly believed to have been a temple of Janus.

Close by is another little arch which is said by the inscription upon it to have been built by the silversmiths and merchants of the market in honour of Septimius Severus and others.

The Portico of Octavia.—Near the temple of Fortuna Virilis, just behind at the end of the Via della Pescheria, there were formerly two temples of Jupiter and Juno surrounded by a fine colonnade, which was built by Augustus on the plan of an earlier one and called after his

¹ The Italians consider that most of the old columns in S. Maria in Cosmedin belong to the old residence of the *Prefectus Annonae*.

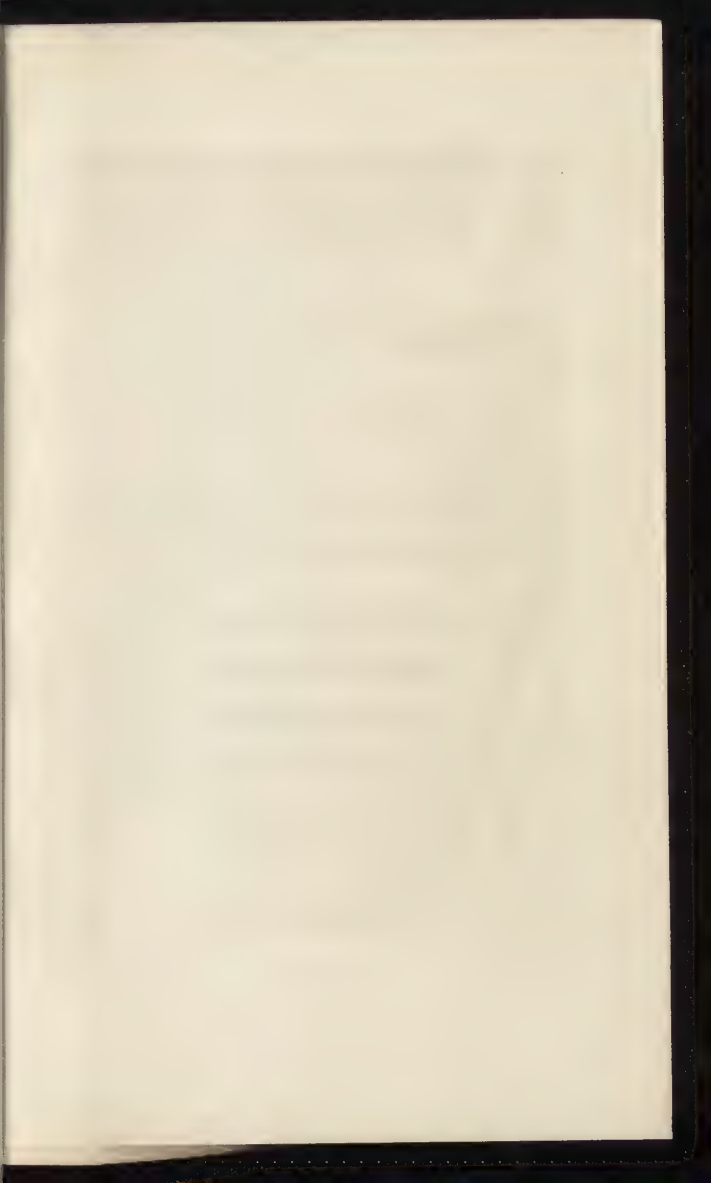
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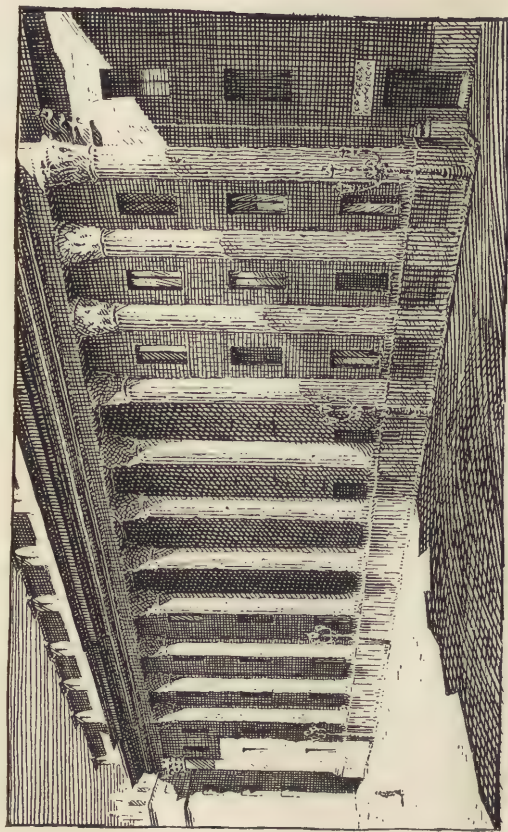
sister, the portico of Octavia. It had great archways at each corner and a very fine entrance with columns on the side facing the temples. There were also several other buildings and a number of beautiful large statues inside the colonnade.

The part that remains consists of the principal entrance and a few columns of the colonnade, and there are also fragments of these buildings embedded in the walls of the street. One of the columns in S. Lorenzo Fuori in the later part of the church has a frog and a lizard carved on its capital, and it is therefore probable that some of the columns there were taken from the temples inside this portico; it is said that the two architects who designed them, since they were forbidden to inscribe their names, Saurus (a lizard) and Batrachus (a frog), took this means of perpetuating them.

This great group of buildings was only one of the works of Augustus.

Most of the Temples were rebuilt by Augustus.—He believed that the disasters and misery of the Civil Wars sprang from the anger of the gods and it was his cherished wish to appease this by the revival of their worship in its old splendour and the repair of these ruined temples. No doubt he also wished to beautify the great city of which he was so proud. He therefore not only did everything in his power to repair the old shrines, but erected many fresh buildings and encouraged his friends to do likewise. The temple of Mars Ultor, in





The Temple of Neptune 2

B.C.B.

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the *Foro di Augusto*, was one of the most magnificent in Rome, and the Corinthian columns that still remain are a beautiful example of the work of his time, which was far simpler and more graceful than that of later times.

It was built of huge blocks of peperino, fastened together by wooden clamps, and was filled according to Pliny with numerous costly works of art. The end of the cella was round, like the apse in the early Christian church, and and it is probable that it was lighted by windows.

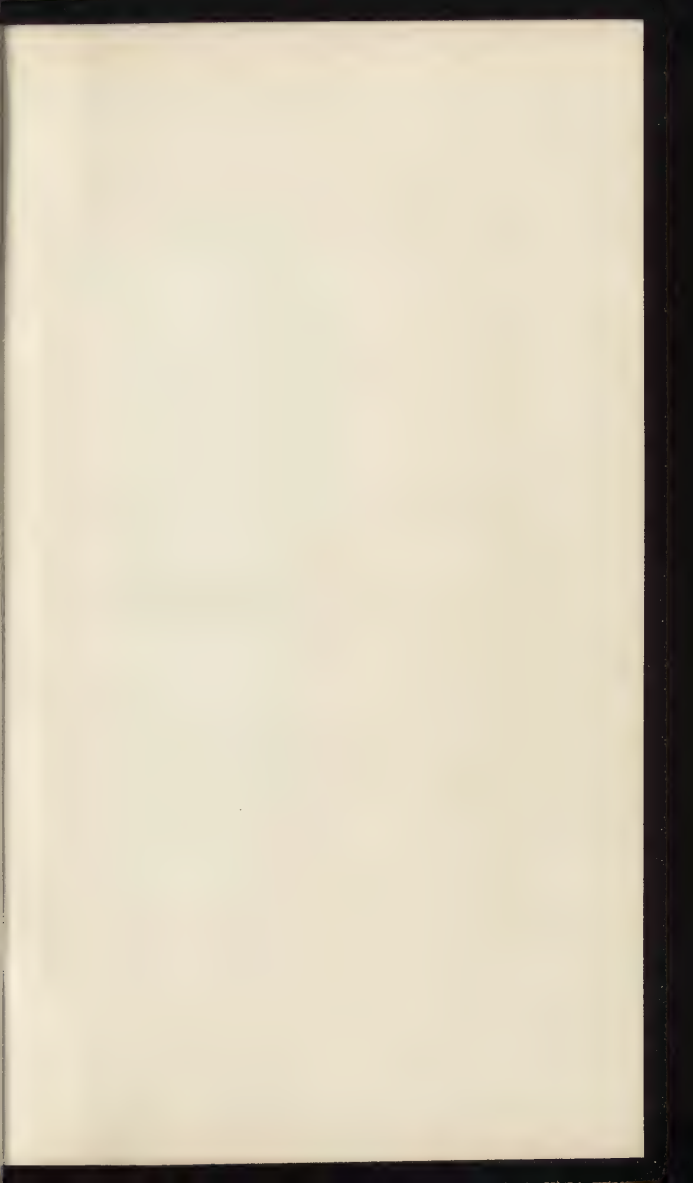
The Portico of the Argonauts.—There exists in the little Piazza di Pietra, not far from the Pantheon, a magnificent row of Corinthian columns much damaged by time, the remains of the great temple of Neptune, erected by his minister Agrippa and then restored by Hadrian after its destruction by fire to its former splendour. The temple stood in the midst of a noble cloister called the portico of the Argonauts. The cella was constructed of great blocks of peperino, parts of which still remain, and it had a round roof of concrete, but the finest ornament of the temple was a magnificent set of reliefs in marble representing the provinces of the Empire in the days of Agrippa. These were fixed below the columns which stood on pedestals and so could be easily seen by the people in the street. Fifteen of the provinces have been discovered and some can be seen in the reliefs of the Conservatori Palace on the Capitol and in the Odescalchi

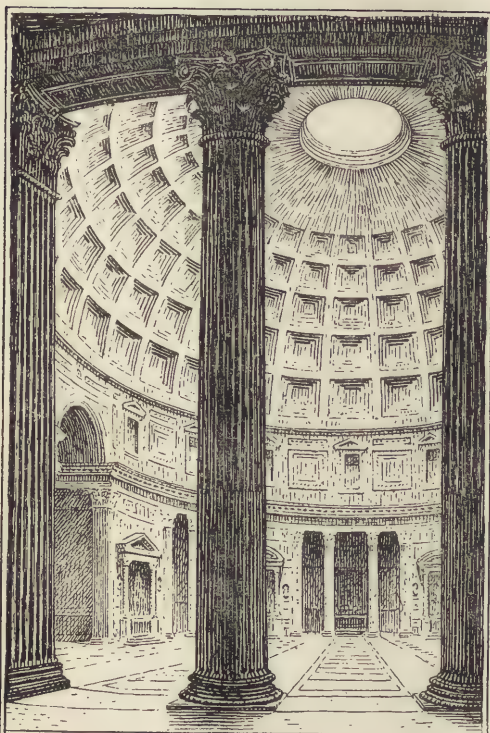
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Palace. Professor Lanciani reflects how easy it would be to restore all these provinces and the other temple decorations to their place in the piazza, and then make this side of the temple one of the most perfect relics of Rome.

This fine temple was not the only building with which Agrippa beautified the city. He erected also some magnificent baths, and close to them a temple, on the site of which the noble hall which is called the Pantheon has been erected by Hadrian, who restored the original porch of Agrippa, although it is possible that he changed its position. The style of this temple is very different from that of the Greeks and it shows very clearly the progress the Romans had made in the art of building. It is also itself so extremely beautiful and has had so great an influence in Renaissance architecture that it deserves a rather fuller description than it was possible to give to the other temples.

The Pantheon.—There is no building in the world which has more puzzled architects than this, because it seemed so clear that the portico was not an original part of the building, and the general style of the rotunda appeared to belong to a later time than that of Agrippa, the friend of Augustus. Without going into the very interesting discussions and investigations that have taken place, it may be said that it was proved in 1892, from the dates that have been found on bricks used in the building, that the whole of the rotunda and the porch too, with the possible exception of the





THE · PANTHEON

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columns, was built between the years 120 and 124 A.D., by the order of Hadrian, after their destruction by fire, and that the later restoration by the Emperor Caracalla was merely, if it really took place, the repairing of some portion. Many years before Carlo Fea had noticed that the small apse inside was Hadrian's work.

The portico does not quite join the rotunda ; it is indeed impossible that it should do so from its shape, and its appearance outside is spoilt by the great size of the building behind it. Originally, however, it looked much better, for the circular building was entirely surrounded by the baths, and the portico would appear as the entrance of a square mass of halls and rooms. The name of Agrippa, who built the original Pantheon, was allowed to remain outside as we see it to-day, and the foundations of his work remain beneath those of Hadrian's. His building was rectangular, and, as we know, was ornamented inside by caryatids, figures of women supporting arches, but it is uncertain if he intended it to be a part of his baths or not.

Nothing in the world can surpass the simple grandeur of the interior, and the broad opening in the top is a perfect way of lighting it. It has been said that the dome is too high for the perpendicular part and appears to overpower and crush it, but I do not think it would appear to do so to most of those who see it.

Facing the dome is a real apse with pilasters quite buried in the wall and two columns standing on either side. There are besides on

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each side of the apse three recesses with two pilasters and two free pillars.

The pillars of coloured marble are of rare beauty.

Above the recesses is an order and above that niches for statues, now empty, but once containing the images of Mars, Venus, Cæsar and four others.

Then comes the magnificent dome, 145 ft. in span and 147 ft. in height, once covered with the gilt bronze tiles that were taken to Constantinople in the seventh century. The interior also was cased in bronze, which Urban VIII. made into cannon for S. Angelo.

The Chapel of the Medici at Florence, a building of somewhat similar shape but very inferior in taste and beauty, with its marble covering right up to the roof gives some idea of what the Pantheon looked like before it was stripped.

The dome itself is one solid mass of concrete and thus its construction is quite different from that of modern domes, and the covering of brick is of no importance to its stability. This construction was used in all the big Roman domes, in which the ribs and arches of brick were merely an outer covering. A small bit of the moulding that covered the inside may still be seen near the great central window.

The marble facing still exists on the walls near the entrance and is composed of thick slates of Pentelic marble, and the great bronze doors have escaped destruction.

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If the portico stood by itself it would be the foremost in Rome, and even as it is the granite columns have a fine effect from their simplicity. They are arranged in the Etruscan fashion and the entablature above originally contained reliefs in stone, and on either side of the door stood colossal statues of Augustus and Agrippa.

The Pantheon became a church in 609 A.D., and many famous men have been buried here, including the painter Raphael near the third altar on the left close to the tomb of his betrothed who died while still a young girl. In later times it has become the mausoleum of the Kings of Italy, and Victor Emmanuel, who united Italy, and his son Umberto, who was murdered in 1900, lie here.

It was surrounded by houses in the Middle Ages, and decorated with towers, but these have all been removed. Considerable remains of Agrippa's baths have been uncovered and may be visited, but it is difficult to identify any special parts.

Just behind the Pantheon is a large apse that was added by Hadrian, and close to the Via della Palombella a large hall has been discovered with fine columns and sculpture, which, no doubt, was part of the baths, though Hadrian's building probably was never used for such a purpose.

The existing remains of the numerous temples that once stood in the Forum will be discussed in the fifth chapter, as this arrangement seems

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on the whole the most convenient one, though it is open to some objections.

Private Houses.—There are very few remains of private houses in Rome, as most of those that have from time to time been discovered have been destroyed to make room for new buildings and roads, and their decorations have been removed to the museums. Any one who wishes to get an idea of the general appearance of a Roman house should certainly visit Pompeii, for though it is probable that in some respects the houses in Rome had a different ground plan, and of course were more splendidly decorated than those of a provincial town, yet the houses of the ancients were less various than those of our own time, so that in all probability the general arrangements were much the same, and the sight of the houses standing side by side in the ancient streets gives a vivid idea of old life that no description can possibly supply. The description of a Roman house has been given so well and exhaustively in Becker's *Gallus* and Smith's *Dictionary of Antiquities*, that it is sufficient here to indicate very briefly the general arrangements, and to refer the student to these books.

The chief room in the house was the atrium, which was generally an open court surrounded by a covered space on every side, supported by columns, and in the centre of which was a round stone or marble receptacle for the rain water. The atrium was always in the front of the house, and was entered from the street by a narrow

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covered passage. Opening out of it were the various sitting-rooms, and in many cases the bedrooms also, though it is probable that the wealthy had larger sleeping-rooms on the second floor. The *tablinum* was a room at the end of the atrium opposite the entrance, in which the family records were kept, and was generally separated from it by a curtain only.

The Peristylum.—In the better houses at Pompeii there is a second court behind the atrium, open to the air, and enclosed by pillars, in which the family sat and worked, and into which the more important rooms opened. These fine open courts were filled with orange trees and beautiful flowers, as the houses in Rome are to-day ; and decorated with marble fountains and small statues. The walls of the inner rooms were covered with paintings of the gods and heroes, hunting scenes or quaint processions ; and the floors were composed of beautiful mosaics, which also sometimes represented animals or human figures. The windows looked into the inner courts : nothing was to be seen from the street except bare walls, except where there were shops in the place of the lower part of the outside wall, which had no communication with the house behind.

The House of Germanicus.—The best preserved private house in Rome is that on the Palatine which has already been mentioned, close to the end of the long covered passage in which the murder of Caligula took place. Leaving this passage, we descend into a courtyard

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paved with mosaics, which was probably the atrium, and seems to have had a roof. Facing this are three rooms, and the one in the centre possesses some very fine frescoes, which are, perhaps, the best example of classical painting that still survives. They have often been copied, and some excellent reproductions made at the time of their discovery in 1870 by M. Layrand may be seen in the Palais des Beaux-Arts, Paris. The picture on the wall opposite the entrance represents the story of Polyphemus and Galatea, and is beautifully painted ; but the best of all is that on the right wall, in which Io is guarded by Argus, armed with a sword and lance, while Hermes is approaching to release her with his divine wand. "The composition is one of noble simplicity, yet fine in effect. The feeling that pervades it is that of exquisite delicacy. These three figures have an admirable and eloquent expression." The artist has omitted those mythological symbols that might interfere with the beauty of the picture—the horns of Io and Argus' hundred eyes. It is not certain for what purpose these rooms were used, although the central one has been called the tablinum, and the whole plan of the house is full of difficulty. There is no doubt, however, from the character of the masonry, which is composed of concrete faced with *opus reticulatum*, that it is of Republican date ; and it was, no doubt, carefully preserved, because of the reverence in which Germanicus, who once lived there, was held by the Roman people. The room on the west side

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of the court was the dining-room, and its walls are protected inside from the damp by a coating of tiles, so as to leave a free space for the air. It was covered with frescoes, which are now so injured by the damp that they can with difficulty be distinguished, and appear to differ very much in merit. Remains of a staircase may be seen that led to the upper rooms, most of them probably bedrooms.

The House beneath SS. Giovanni e Paolo.—Another private house that has been preserved is that beneath the church of SS. Giovanni e Paolo, on the Cælian (p. 216), which was first discovered by Father Germano in 1887, and where the excavations are still going on at the present time. There would appear to be little doubt that the lower part at least of the wall of the church that we see on the left when ascending the road that leads from S. Gregorio formed a part of the front of the house. The fourteen windows, a little irregular in plan, are specially interesting, because in early times the Romans were not fond of windows, and those they had looked usually into the inner courts. Probably, however, in the fourth century, when glass had become cheaper, windows such as we see here, looking into the street, were not uncommon in the houses of the rich. The front is now quite bare, but was, no doubt, originally covered with marble, and had perhaps a portico of marble columns. The interior of the house was probably originally very much like those of Pompeii, but has been altered in various ways during the three centuries in which it was

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inhabited after Pompeii had been destroyed. The ground floor of the house is now beneath the level of the street, and several rooms have been excavated. One of these is a bathroom, very simply furnished with a swimming bath ; and there are also a number of little rooms for the slaves, as well as great store-rooms of wine, oil, wheat and all sorts of provisions, no doubt produced on the estates of the owner. Traces have been found of chimneys that carried the smoke from the ground floor to the roof, though, as a rule, the Romans were content to leave their rooms unwarmed, or made use of little stoves that did not smoke, so that no trace of a chimney has been detected in any house at Pompeii.

Many of the rooms on every floor were handsomely decorated with marble, and also with frescoes, and considerable remains still exist of the wall paintings. One apartment in particular, which was probably the dining-room, opening out of the old atrium, which was covered by a roof, has some very fine pictures of pagan genii, with a number of great birds at their feet, walking on the grass. Other rooms have the various subjects so frequently seen in the Catacombs, many of them taken from the Scriptures ; and, as a rule, the Christian paintings, as might have been expected from their later date, are not so well done as the others. In some rooms the Christian owner has contented himself with obliterating those parts of the pagan frescoes that appeared profane or indecent, and has replaced them by others ; but in one hall at

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least he has destroyed all the paintings except a narrow strip near the ceiling, and has covered the walls with new work. A great number of the symbols and types so common in Christian times, such as the mystical fish and the Orans, may be seen, as well as a picture of a vase filled with milk, which was regarded as a symbol of the Eucharist. The house deserves a careful study, if it is only to notice the various floors, as it is so difficult to realise that some of the finest rooms in a great Roman house were on the second or even the third floor, although a student of the Acts of the Apostles will recollect that at Troas the Christians were assembled in a large room of a house that must have resembled this one, as one of the worshippers fell from the window into the street.

There does not appear any reason to distrust the tradition that this house belonged to two brothers, who were put to death for their faith in the time of Julian, or that they were buried in a narrow passage between the apartments of the family, which looked into the street, and those of the servants, which were not so well lighted. Traces of their time still exist, and of the window, through which visitors were able to see the grave itself.

*The House of S. Cecilia.*¹—During the last two years Cardinal Rampolla has been engaged in restoring the church of S. Cecilia in Trastevere, which was originally the house of the martyr adapted to public worship. A great hall has been discovered, but, as it is only par-

¹ Cf. page 231.

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tially excavated, it has the appearance of a long gallery ; it was, no doubt, the original room consecrated to the worship of God. There are several other rooms to be seen, one of which contains some walls of a round shape, very perfectly finished in brick, which were probably used for storing grain. This room is most interesting, and contains columns in *opus quadratum*¹ and pillars of tufa, with Doric capitals of a very ancient form. There is a very rare kind of *opus incertum* and numerous fragments of old mosaic pavements, often placed one over another in the various repairs and reconstructions that took place ; but those of mediæval date are composed of big white tesserae instead of the small white and black cubes of the Romans (p. 72). In one of the furthest rooms there was found a chapel ornamented by carvings, two of which were of terra-cotta like those usually made in the first century for decorating rooms, but the third, at the bottom, is a flat surface of tufa engraved to represent a picture of Minerva, and is probably a copy of some old work.

The Auditorio di Mecenate.—At the corner of the roads Merulana and Leopardi there is a building which is called the auditorium of Maecenas. That great statesman, the friend of Augustus and of Horace, turned the public burial ground on the Esquiline into a park and built himself a palace here, which Horace describes as reaching up to heaven, and it is possible that this fine room was a greenhouse

¹ Cf. page 19.

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of the palace. It possesses an apse with steps leading up to it on which the plants stood, and six recesses on either side decorated with pictures of garden scenes, most of which have now perished. It was lighted like the Pantheon by a round hole in the vault of the roof.

The very interesting House of the Vestal Virgins in the Forum will be best described in the next chapter in its connection with the buildings near it.

Frescoes and Ceilings.—Many of the frescoes from Roman houses and also some of the ceilings carved in stucco are preserved in the museums ; one very beautiful example of the latter was discovered beneath the garden of the Villa Farnesina, when the bed of the Tiber was being widened, and is now preserved in the cloisters of Michael Angelo near the New Museum in the baths of Diocletian. There is a beautiful print of this in Lanciani's *Pagan and Christian Rome*, p. 264. These ceilings resemble greatly those in many old English houses, especially at Dunsland near Holsworthy and elsewhere in Devon. Probably the best of these are the work of Greek artists, at least the style and the subjects show a great fondness for Greek models. The fruit and festoons are often as well done in England, but no one would venture to compare the cherubs so often found on English ceilings with the marvellous figures of gods and heroes in the best classical houses. Very few of these have been left in their original place, except in one or two tomb cham-

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bers, but some of the most beautiful are preserved in the Museo delle Terme near the railway station.

The wall paintings in the best Roman houses were of the highest excellence, as many had been brought from Greece, and in the opinion of Sir Joshua Reynolds the finest paintings of antiquity were probably equal to the greatest works of Titian and Correggio. The few that have been preserved hardly bear out this opinion, but many, such as those in the house of Germanicus and the so-called Aldobrandini Marriage now in the Vatican, are excellent both in composition and colour.

Mosaic Floors.—Besides decorating the walls with frescoes the Romans used small arks of glass or marble on their floors or even walls laid closely together, so as to form a simple pattern of a picture. A plan of the design was probably first sketched on some soft substance, perhaps the cement that lay immediately beneath the arks before the pieces of marble or glass were inserted. The simplest kind of mosaic consists of a perfectly plain pattern or of no pattern at all, but most floors have a central piece, which is often an animal or god surrounded by an elaborate border. The more costly was composed of extremely small bits laid very closely together, usually so arranged as to represent a complicated scene in life, as a battle or a marriage. These beautiful pictures are not inferior to the mediæval mosaics in the early churches; the famous picture of the doves drinking now in the Capitoline Museum was

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found in Hadrian's villa at Tivoli, and there are several that were taken from old houses at Ostia and elsewhere in the Vatican Library. It has been said that some of these, especially the "doves," are too pictorial and realistic, but criticism of this kind depends on the taste of the individual. Many fine mosaic pavements exist in England, and there is a specially beautiful one at Brading in the Isle of Wight. Limestone or chalk was often used in England instead of marble. The mosaic work under the later Emperors was rude and coarse, as may be seen in the baths of Caracalla, and it became very common to form a pavement with large slabs of coloured marble; such work is called *opus Alexandrinum*, because Alexander Severus was the first to use it on a great scale in the palaces on the Palatine, and it is often very beautifully designed and must have been well suited to a climate like that of Italy.

It should not be difficult for visitors to form an idea of a Roman house inside when they have seen some of the smaller halls in the Vatican or of the great palaces with their fine frescoes and mosaic pavements filled with statues and marble ornaments of every kind. It is true that windows were used very little in ancient houses, but the rooms were well lighted from the central halls, and frescoes look best in a quiet and subdued light, which is also more agreeable in a hot climate. The rooms were filled with all kinds of beautiful plants and flowers just like those we see to-day in the courtyards or on the staircases of modern houses in Rome.

CHAPTER V.

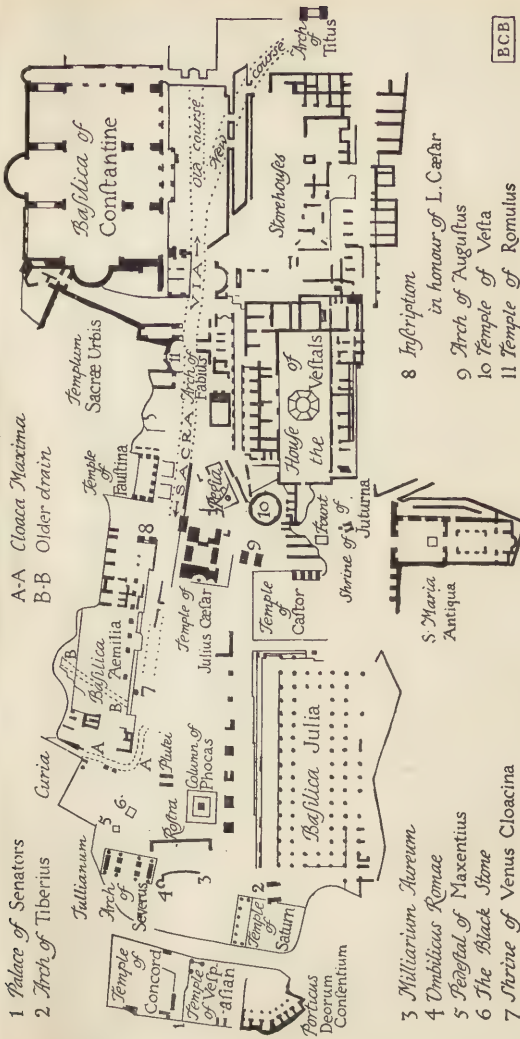
THE FORUM AND THE ADJACENT BUILDINGS.

THE word Forum means originally an open space before any building, and it was usually a bit of level ground in the centre of a city which was used as a market-place, and sometimes also for meetings at which judicial and political business was carried on. The Roman Forum was originally a ¹marshy bit of ground at the foot of the Palatine and Quirinal Hills in which the tribesmen who lived in villages on the top of these hills, then probably covered with dark ilex trees, met to buy and sell from one another, and to consult about matters in which all were interested. At some time, while Rome was still ruled by kings, this space was drained by the great drain called the Cloaca Maxima which ran into the Tiber, but even as late as the time of Augustus there were still standing pools of water in the south part of the Forum.

In the time of the early Republic a part of the Forum to the north was used as a meeting-

¹ Hoc, ubi nunc fora sunt, udae tenuere paludes Amne redundatis fossa madebat aquis.—Ovid, *Fasti*, VI., 401-2.

THE ROMAN FORUM



BCB



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place of the Curia and was called the Comitium, while the assembly of the people or comitia tributa met in the more central part and an elevated platform or rostra was erected from which the orators addressed the Roman citizens. Gradually the Forum became the centre of the entire life of Rome, the north and south sides were surrounded by shops, a continuous row of little dens with open fronts at first no doubt of wood, but in later times very much like those we see in Pompeii. It was from one of the butchers' shops in the Forum that Virginius snatched the knife with which he stabbed his daughter to save her from the hands of Appius Claudius. As time went on many of these shops were removed to make room for temples and great open colonnades in which merchants could meet one another while sheltered from the hot sun or pouring rain. A considerable time before the Christian era, the Forum had become so crowded with buildings and statues that strict regulations had to be made to give more room, and at no time were wheeled vehicles allowed to traverse its area, while a great number of statues were removed.

No place is so crowded with historic associations of the closing days of the Republic, and it may be added that no place has seen more fights and massacres. Most of the victims of Sulla's prescriptions were fixed upon the rostra, and it was in those days the constant scene of gladiatorial combats and of the slaughter of animals. It is related that Caius Gracchus

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destroyed all the wooden galleries from which the richer citizens looked down upon the games.

On the *Scala Gemoniæ*, between the Capitol and the Curia, the bodies of great criminals or defeated foes who had been put to death were exposed ; the ill-fated Vercingetorix, and Sejanus and his children, and many others lay here exposed to the eyes of the great throng who passed across the Forum from the closely packed streets on either side. The early courts were held on the Forum, at first on wooden benches, and later in the basilicas. The trials of Verres and of Milo were held here, and the bodies of Sulla and of Cæsar were burned in the Forum.

Under the Emperors the Forum was completely surrounded by beautiful buildings, although the constant succession of low roofs must have given it a monotonous appearance. One of the reasons why most of the remains are of comparatively late date is because the buildings were continually destroyed by great fires, and it was the last conflagration, that which followed the capture of Rome by Robert Guiscard in 1084, that finally ruined its appearance. The Forum became the natural place to deposit earth and rubbish from the other parts of Rome, and gradually the whole of the ruins, except a few columns and some temples that had been turned into churches, were covered up, and trees and vegetable gardens were planted upon its surface ; and it was only about a century ago that archæologists began to lay bare the old ruins, and to explain their position and uses. The

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reason that the ruins are so scanty is not only the effect of the great fires, but also because during the Middle Ages an enormous quantity of marble was melted down to make lime, and also in later times the Popes allowed the marbles and precious stones that remained to be carried off in order to decorate S. Peter's, which was then being built.

It is very difficult to understand in a short time the position of the various buildings in the Forum, and the visitor will be wise at first to try and get a clear idea of the larger bits of ruin, so that he may afterwards fill in the gaps between them.

I.—The present entrance is on the south side, which runs from the Capitol all along the base of the Palatine, and the three large columns close to the bottom of the steps belonged to the temple of Castor. It will be best to turn to the left and walk beneath the modern road to the base of the Capitol, where the huge palace of the Senators looks down upon one.

The graceful portico at the south-west corner was built in 367 A.D. by Prætextatus, the virtuous and active champion of the old religion, to the twelve greatest deities. He was the man who told Pope Damasus that if he were Pope he would be a Christian—a striking testimony to the authority of the Bishops of Rome even in those early days.

A little further north, but close to the wall of the Capitol, are three great Corinthian

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columns, above which is a fragment of the frieze, ornamented with most elaborate stone work, in a pure style, belonging to the temple of Vespasian, constructed by Domitian, his son. This temple was built against the wall of the old Tabularium, and blocked up one of its old entrances.

The mound next to it, further north, is the site of the famous temple of Concord, first erected by Camillus ; but the few fragments of its foundations that still remain belong to the time of Tiberius, who rebuilt it with white marble, and filled the cella with masterpieces of Greek art. Some fragments of the entablature above the columns are still preserved in the Tabularium (p. 222).

The eight Ionic pillars close by belong to the temple of Saturn, which was also founded at a very early date ; but the present remains belong to the later Imperial times. The columns in the front, which look south, are of grey granite, and those in the sides of red. The style in which it is built is the debased one of the period, and the columns are placed on pedestals of different periods in a careless way.

The road that ascended to the Capitol from the Forum was called the Clivus Capitolinus, and may have been between the portico of the Twelve Gods and the temple of Vespasian.

The Tullianum, north of the temple of Concord, outside the present enclosure of the Forum, was the dungeon called the Mamertine prison, which we now enter by the church of S. Giuseppe

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dei Falegnami. There are two chambers, and it is the lower one in which so many famous men have passed their last days. Formerly there were no stairs, but the prisoner was let down into the dungeon through a hole in the roof. Sallust has vividly described the sight and smell of this terrible place, where the friends of Cataline were strangled, and Vercingetorix and countless others were brought after the triumph of their conquerors to die. There is a tradition that S. Peter was confined here before his crucifixion, but there is no means of knowing if it was so ; and certainly the spring in the dungeon, which is said to have flowed in answer to his prayers, existed in the time of Augustus. The bodies were taken out by subterranean passages, after being exposed on the Gemonian stairs, of which a few fragments still remain (p. 76).

But to return to the Forum. Between the temple of Saturn and the arch of Severus are numerous small drains, that carried off the water from the slope of the Capitol ; and there is a large vaulted passage, constructed of tufa blocks, that probably fell into the Cloaca Maxima.

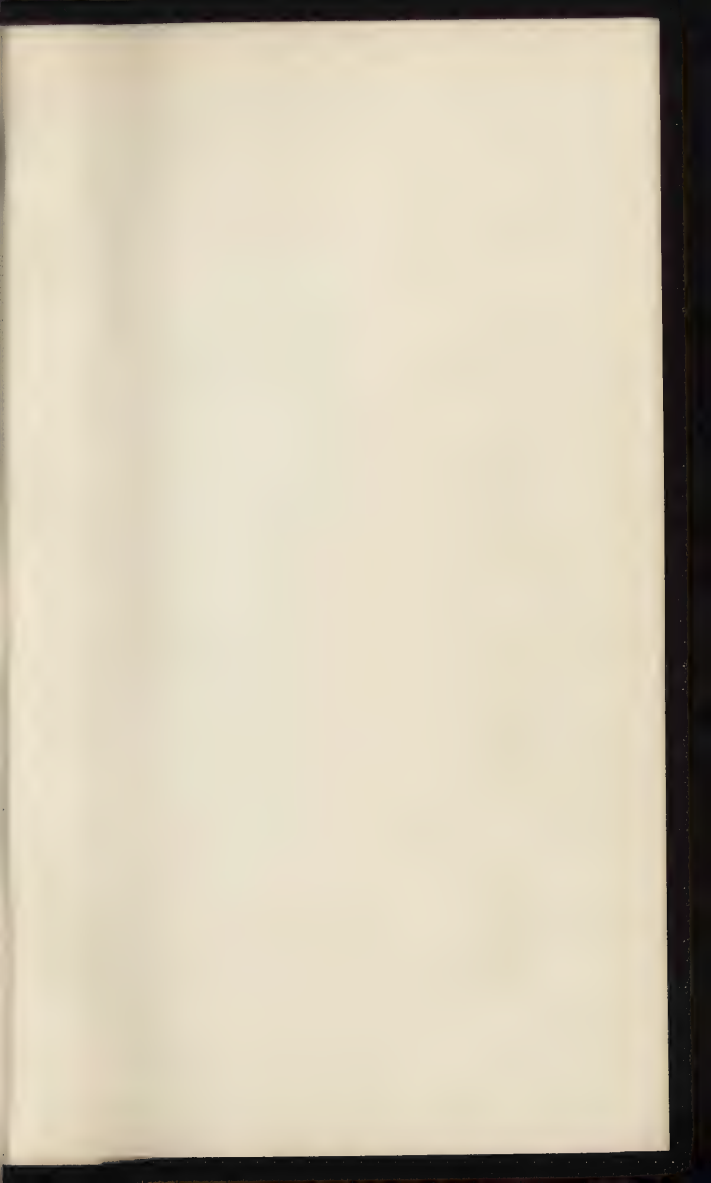
Close to one end of it is the arch of Severus, erected in 203 A.D. in honour of Septimius Severus and his sons, Caracalla and Geta. The name of the latter was erased by Caracalla after his murder. The sculptures of the arch are not well done, but are interesting because they give a picture of the wars of Severus in the East. The arch stood side by side with the rostra in

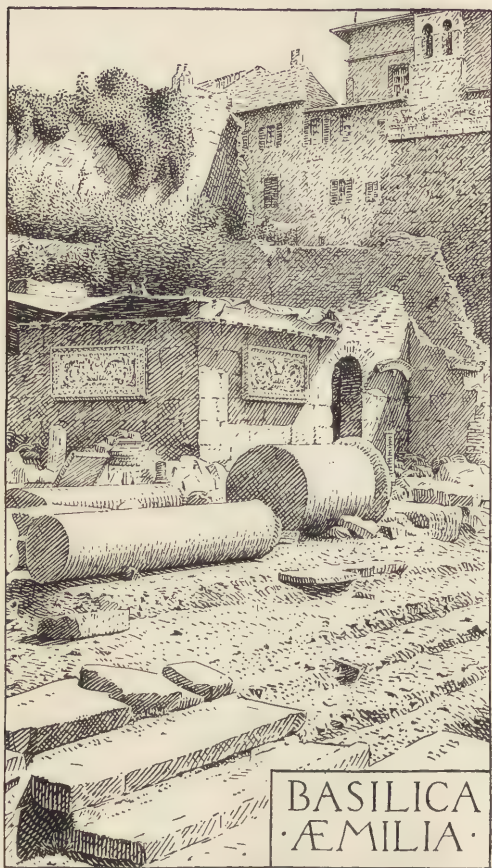
front of the temple of Concord, and in classical times there was no road through it.

It will be convenient to take the buildings on the north side of the Forum in their order.

Next to the arch is the pedestal of a statue of Constantius II., and close to it another with an inscription to Mars written on it by Maxentius in 308 A.D., at the height of his power—"Maxentius invictus Augustus".

Just behind this pedestal was the area of the Comitium, behind which was the Senate House, with its back wall resting against the enclosing wall of the Forum Julium. It was first erected by Tullus Hostilius, and called after him; but the present walls, which are included in the church of S. Adriano, dedicated in 630 by Pope Honorius, belong to the time of Diocletian. It was formerly covered with beautiful marble, and had a vaulted ceiling, exquisitely carved. The bronze doors have been removed to S. Giovanni in Laterano. The hall in which the Senators met was made into the church of S. Adriano by Pope Honorius I., and the offices into that of SS. Martina e Luca. At first the whole was built as one building, but in the sixteenth century the modern Via Bonella was made between the two churches, thus cutting the old Curia in two. In front of it there has lately been discovered a circular marble fountain, probably of a late date; and an altar of Mars, dedicated by Commodus. Close by are several other pedestals of statues, some of which can be identified by their inscriptions.





BASILICA
ÆMILIA

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There was certainly a narrow road between the Curia and the Basilica Aemilia which must have been the celebrated Argiletum. No traces of the famous temple of Janus which stood somewhere between the Curia and the basilica have been found, though it was certainly in existence as late as the time of Belisarius.

On the other side of this was the *great basilica constructed by Aemilius Lepidus* in 78 B.C. Probably, if we may trust a medal now in the British Museum, the work of Paullus was a rectangular building with an open space in the centre enclosed by porticoes, with blank walls on the sides. It was often destroyed by fire and was completely restored in the time of Augustus with columns of pavonazzetto, some of which were placed in the church of S. Paolo Fuori in 386 A.D.

It was again rebuilt under Theodosius, who erected a portico in front of it of columns of red granite with marble capitals, some of which may still be seen. There are also fragments of a pavement of that time composed of little bits of marble of various colours in the style called *opus Alexandrinum*. Some parts of the architrave richly carved with bucrania and rosettes are very pretty.

Behind this portico were a number of shops divided by walls which supported the great hall of the later basilica of Theodosius, which was built of tufa blocks, and was divided by rows of columns into a nave and two aisles like the early Christian churches. It was probably richly

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decorated and the walls cased with marble. A good deal of this, however, is purely conjectural, and it is not yet possible to be sure of the form of the building in different ages. It is quite certain that it was continually destroyed, as traces of fire can be seen everywhere.

Sig. Borsari is of opinion that the circular travertine basement in front of the basilica belongs to a shrine of Venus Cloacina.

The fine inscription in honour of Lucius Cæsar at the corner of the basilica near the temple of Antoninus and Faustina is older than the existing remains of the basilica. This Cæsar was an adopted son of Augustus, and probably the Emperor added it at the time when he rebuilt the basilica. The first archway on the right of the basilica was connected with the temple of Julius Cæsar by an archway that passed over the Via Sacra, and perhaps this great marble inscription was placed upon it.

Just in front of this inscription in the area of the Forum is a high basement of concrete on which stood the *Temple of Julius Cæsar*, erected on the exact spot in which his body was burned by Antony. It was dedicated by Augustus in 29 A.D., and an altar is standing in front of it. On this side of the temple also is believed to have stood the Rostra Julia of Augustus, a raised platform from which the Emperors as late as Hadrian spoke on great occasions to the people.

Next to the basilica is the temple of Faustina, which Antoninus Pius built in 141 A.D., and



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THE TEMPLE OF FAUSTINA, BEFORE THE
EXCAVATIONS : FROM AN ENGRAVING.

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on whose architrave the Senate added his own name to that of his wife after his death. The magnificent columns of the porch of green ribbed cipollino marble and the two sides of the cella once cased with marble still remain. They owe their preservation no doubt to the dedication of the temple to S. Lorenzo in the seventh century after Christ by a wealthy lady called Miranda, but a great quantity of its decorations were afterwards taken to beautify the Lateran. The frieze of white marble is perhaps the best in Rome and is finely decorated with reliefs of griffins and candelabra.

This temple is the only memorial that we have of the Emperor Antoninus Pius who reigned after Hadrian. He was one of that succession of great Emperors who ruled in the second century of the Christian era. His reign was a peaceful one and he reaped the result of Hadrian's great activity and of his ceaseless attention to the defence and happiness of the provinces. Yet it is incorrect to say that he disregarded the beginning of trouble, for he sternly repressed revolts in Egypt and Britain and maintained the great frontier defences with great care, nor was he idle at home or buried in philosophical study, for he devoted all his energies to reform and arrangement of the Roman law, preparing the way for the great code of Justinian; and he saw the urgent need of lightening the pressure of taxation, one great cause of the depopulation of Italy. He was truly a religious man, believ-

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ing firmly in the protection of the gods, who loved Rome, and his life was unselfish and disinterested, thinking no evil even of the wife who, tradition says, probably falsely, was unfaithful to him.¹

In front of this temple ran the *Sacra Via*, and on the other side between it and the temple of Vesta was the *Regia* or official residence of the Pontifex Maximus, the President of the chief college of priests in Rome. His power was very great in early times, but he was always what we should call a layman and was generally a man who had held high office in the State. This house in which Julius Cæsar lived and from which he went to that meeting of the Senate in which he met his death was built entirely of great blocks of marble instead of stone or concrete, and contained all the archives of the priesthood as well as many other records. It is known to have been burnt down several times, and fragments of the earlier building of the Republic have lately been discovered, of blocks of tufa and a pavement also of tufa as well as a little round edifice in which Sig. Borsari thinks the miracle-working spears of Mars were kept. The word *Regia*, of Republican date, should be noticed at the mouth of a well for supplying water to the house.

¹ Two very old tombs have this year (1902) been discovered between this temple and the *Regia* belonging to the people who dwelt here before the Romans. In one the bodies were burned and in the other buried.

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It is not quite certain what building¹ stood next to the temple of Antoninus and Faustina, but a little further on, also facing the Sacra Via, is a curious round building with a doorway decorated with two red porphyry columns. This round temple was erected in honour of *Romulus*, the son of Maxentius, about 310 A.D., and was originally lighted from the top like the Pantheon. It is now the vestibule of the church of SS. Cosma e Damiano and the interior has been divided into two parts when that church was restored in the seventeenth century. Probably the porphyry columns and also the large doors were taken by Maxentius from some earlier building. Behind this vestibule is a large hall which was originally the *Templum Sacrae Urbis* in which were deposited a number of official documents and which was thoroughly repaired by Vespasian in 78 B.C. It was lighted by large windows, some of which still exist, and the lower part of the walls was cased with marble. It was united with the temple of Romulus by Pope Felix IV. in the sixth century and both buildings were dedicated to SS. Cosmos and Damianus. The present church has two levels because the floor was raised in 1633 on account of the rise of the soil, and the upper church contains some very beautiful mosaics of the sixth century.

The back wall of the record office looked

¹ Lately a building has been discovered consisting of a corridor with small cells on each side. It has been conjectured that it is a prison, or perhaps a series of treasure chambers.

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upon the forum of Nerva (p. 106), and was ornamented with the famous marble plan of Rome, part of which is still preserved in the Capitoline Museum.

Almost opposite the doorway of the temple of Romulus, just past the little museum lately made by S. Boni, stood the *Arch of Fabius*, the eastern boundary of the Forum erected by Quintus Fabius Consul in 121 B.C., and which was restored by his grandson whose name may still be read on an inscription on a slab of stone found near its site.

It will be well to continue our walk a little further to the enormous fragments of the great *Basilica of Constantine* which was erected by Maxentius on part of the land once occupied by Nero's golden house and completed by Constantine who caused the principal entrance to face the *Sacra Via*.

This great building consisted of two aisles and a nave; one of the aisles still remains and is divided into three compartments which are covered with three great arches and supported by the great dividing buttresses. In the construction of these, as Ferguson observes, "almost all the peculiarities afterwards found in Gothic vaults are here employed in a far grander and more gigantic scale than the Gothic artists ever attempted". The central arch of the existing aisle has an apse with recesses for statues and a domed ceiling. No columns were used in the interior except some ornamental ones in front of the great buttresses dividing the aisles,

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and the great roof of the nave, a part of which still exists, which seemed to spring from these columns, was really supported by the cross walls of the aisles. It consisted of a great intersecting vault in three divisions, and the aisle on the other side was an exact copy of the one still preserved. One of the great columns may still be seen in the Piazza S. Maria Maggiore, where Paul V. placed it in 1613. The outside, like those of the earlier Christian churches which were imitated from it, can never have been beautiful though it was decorated on the south side with a portico of porphyry columns, and it is the excellent construction of its vaults that gives it interest in our eyes to-day.

The old entrance on the east side looked upon the magnificent temple of *Venus and Rome*, the remains of which now stand behind the church of *S. Francesca Romana*, which occupies a part of its site. When it was built it became necessary to turn the direction of the *Sacra Via* rather more to the south. This temple had a double cella placed back to back so as to touch one another. They stood upon an elevated platform and had two columns at each end and twenty on the sides. The original plan was designed by Hadrian himself, but he would appear to have followed the advice of the great architect Apollodorus in placing it upon a raised platform and in making underground rooms in the massive concrete foundation.

The double temple was surrounded by a

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grand outer portico of huge columns of grey granite standing at some distance from the building, and many fragments of these pillars are still lying near. The decoration of the two cellas which was executed with beautiful marbles is worth careful study, as the arrangement in panels was a very usual one in Rome.

A great part of the material of the temple was used in the construction of S. Francesca Romana, which is an interesting little church with an apse and a flat roof containing some mosaics of the twelfth century which, however, do not harmonise very well with the frescoes.

II.—But let us return to the *Arch of Severus*, and examine the buildings on the area of the Forum before proceeding to the south side. In many ways this part is the most difficult to describe, as antiquarians are not yet agreed as to the exact character of much that has been discovered.

To the east of the arch, and in front of the Curia (S. Adriano), there was discovered last year (1901) a plain slab of black marble, probably a kind of Pentelic, though others consider it a simple black stone from the Apennines. It has been supposed that this black stone was regarded as the traditional tomb of Romulus, but none of the classical writers speak of this, and it is at the best uncertain. The stone was preserved for some reason when this part of the Forum was repaired under the later Emperors. Underneath the stone there was found a tufa cippus, with an inscription written in archaic

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Latin, which no one has yet been able to understand ; and near it have been found a large number of votive offerings, and a great number of bones belonging to the sacrifices made on the spot. The sacred objects appear to belong to the sixth century before Christ, and it is certain that this spot, for some reason, was held in peculiar veneration, although it is impossible to avoid suspecting that Maxentius had something to do with this monument in his desire to associate his son Romulus with the founder of the city, who bore the same name.¹

The visitor will have no difficulty in noticing the two large marble screens, covered with bas-reliefs, standing where they were discovered in 1872, near the column of Phocas. It is quite uncertain what they were used for, and even if they are in their original place ; but they were very probably made in the reign of Trajan, as the scene depicted on one represents this Emperor setting fire to the registers of debts due to the Treasury, all of which we know that he remitted. The other, in which he is seated on a platform addressing a woman with a child in her hands, alludes to his foundation of an orphan asylum for the children of poor citizens.

The sow, the ram, and the bull on the inside panels are the animals sacrificed at the solemn feast of the *suovetaurilia*.

Close to the screens or *plutei*, but near the

¹ Many good authorities consider that the votive offerings are simply a part of the materials brought from other places to line the spot.

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arch, is a marble basement with an inscription in honour of Stilicho, the great general who defeated the Goths in 405, and who a few years later was put to death by the ungrateful Emperor. The employment of these foreign officers shows how the Romans had degenerated, and was one of the chief causes of the fall of the Western Empire.

The great column in the very middle of the Forum was known during the Middle Ages as the Unknown Column, and was the only bit of ancient Rome that towered above the gardens that then filled the area all round. It is now known to have been erected in 608, in honour of Phocas, the bloodthirsty Emperor of Constantinople, to whom Gregory the Great wrote those words of praise which are the only stain on his great name.

It was set up by Smaragnus, exarch of Ravenna, who, without doubt, removed it from some earlier building, as the excellent workmanship clearly shows that it was not the work of his age.

Behind this towards the Capitol stood the famous *Rostra*, which was a stage or platform 75 feet long, from which the orators addressed the people, and which was so called because it was ornamented with the beaks (*rostra*) of ships captured in war. It would appear that the speakers were accustomed to face the Forum as a compliment to the citizens, though it was possible to turn towards the Senate House if the orator pleased. It was ornamented with nume-

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rous statues, and stood about 11 feet above the area of the Forum.

It is possible that the big tufa blocks are a part of the earliest rostra, which has been known as the rostra of Julius Cæsar, though he did not really change its position. It is pretty clear that most of these remains are, however, of much later date.

Behind this is a semicircular bit of masonry, lined with Porta Santa ; and again further back a number of small arched chambers have been found. The floor beneath these and the ground near is paved with little brick mosaics, and over the arches are tufa slabs. It certainly appears that the arches were meant to support a platform, and Sig. Boni considers, from the resemblance of the arches to those on the coin of Palicanus, that this is really the rostra used in the last century of the Republic. But are these arches really depicted on the coin of Palicanus ? In this case, too, the building faced with Porta Santa would have stood between the orators and their audience, as it is higher than the platform over the arches. It is hardly likely that this building would have been placed here if the first was the rostra. Perhaps the little arches were really a part of the Græcostasis where ambassadors from foreign states stood to hear the debates.

The little round basement close to the arch of Severus is the Umbilicus Romæ, which marked the centre of the city.

The fragment of white marble with acanthus leaves upon it between the arch and the temple

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of Saturn was probably a part of the *Milliarium Aureum*, on which was written the distances of the chief cities in Italy from Rome.

III. *South Side of the Forum*.—Close to the temple of Saturn are the remains of the *Arch of Tiberius* erected in 16 A.D., and a little further on, the remains of the great *Basilica Julia* which was begun by Julius Cæsar and finished by Augustus on the site of the old shops which stood here. The existing remains are very scanty ; portions of the white marble with which it was paved can be seen marked with little squares and circles probably used for games of chance. The rows of brick arches and the pilasters in the nave and aisles were placed there by Cavaliere Rosa, as well as the marble columns. A portion of the west side of solid masonry once covered with marble still remains. The exact construction is still doubtful ; it was divided into a nave and four aisles by rows of pilasters coated with marble, and it had a solid vaulted roof from which Caligula used to cast money to the crowd below. The evidence seems to show that the front facing the Forum consisted of two arcades, one over the other, which were quite open when they were not closed by curtains, so that people could pass freely through. The portico was of white marble of Luni, of which one small marble pillar is still left. The basilica was the seat of the important court of the Centumviri over which the Emperor often presided. The judges sat on benches and the counsel on either side

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spoke for their clients, while the great throng of spectators filled the halls, probably divided from the court by a low railing, and the galleries at the sides.

In the Middle Ages one church at least was built within its area, and the stonecutters set up their shops there.

In front of the basilica may be seen a great number of brick basements which once supported columns erected in honour of great men, and perhaps statues. The enormous bits of red marble lying near belonged to these columns, and one has already been put together and placed on its pedestal.

The street on the east side of the basilica was the *Vicus Tuscus* which led from the Forum to the Circus Maximus, which Horace alludes to as filled with tradesmen who wrapped up their goods in the manuscripts of inferior poets. On the other side of the street was the temple of the great twin brothers *Castor and Pollux*, first founded a few years after the battle of the Lake Regillus in 482 B.C. ; it was often rebuilt, and the great substructure on which it stands is of the Republican times. The three beautiful Corinthian columns and the fine bit of entablature, the work of Greek artists, are a portion of the work of Tiberius, who rebuilt the temple in 7 B.C.¹

At the eastern corner between this temple and that of Julius Cæsar was the *Triumphal*

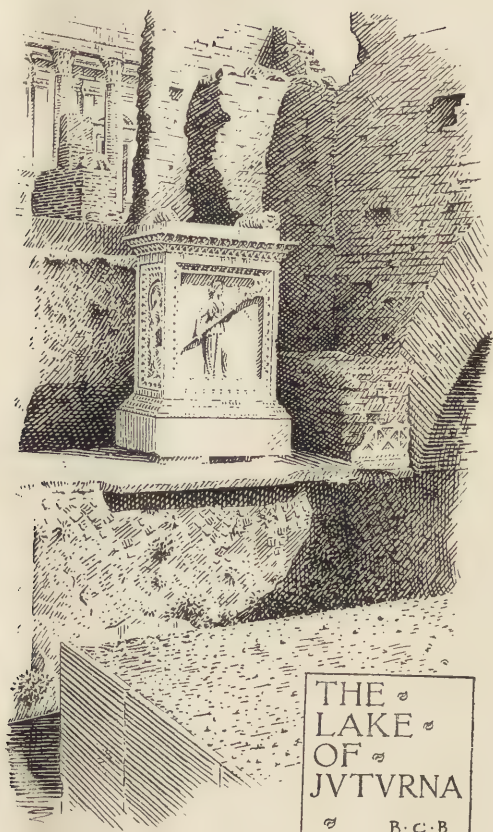
¹ It has lately been ascertained that the temple of Castor had columns at the back.

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Arch of Augustus, raised after the battle of Actium, and destroyed for the sake of its marble in the sixteenth century.

Many people will remember the church of S. Maria Libratrice which stood to the east of the temple of Castor. This has lately been removed and has disclosed a number of most interesting remains which can only be briefly described here though they fully deserve a long study. It was known by tradition, as the readers of Macaulay's *Lake Regillus* will remember that, after the battle of the Lake Regillus, the twin brothers watered their horses at a fountain near the Palatine, and that the temple was built close by in memory of their visit. This was the celebrated Fons Juturnæ which sprang from the soil near the Palatine, and sometimes overflowed a large area of ground, and which was afterwards enclosed in a deep rectangular reservoir as we now see it when the soil above has been removed. It is about seven feet deep and the spring comes up through a hole in the floor. In the centre is a large basement which no doubt supported the statues of Castor and Pollux standing by their horses as in the famous statues on the Quirinal Hill. Some fragments have been found close by. One horse's head is well preserved. The masonry in *opus reticulatum* of the reservoir is of Republican date, but the marble slabs are later.

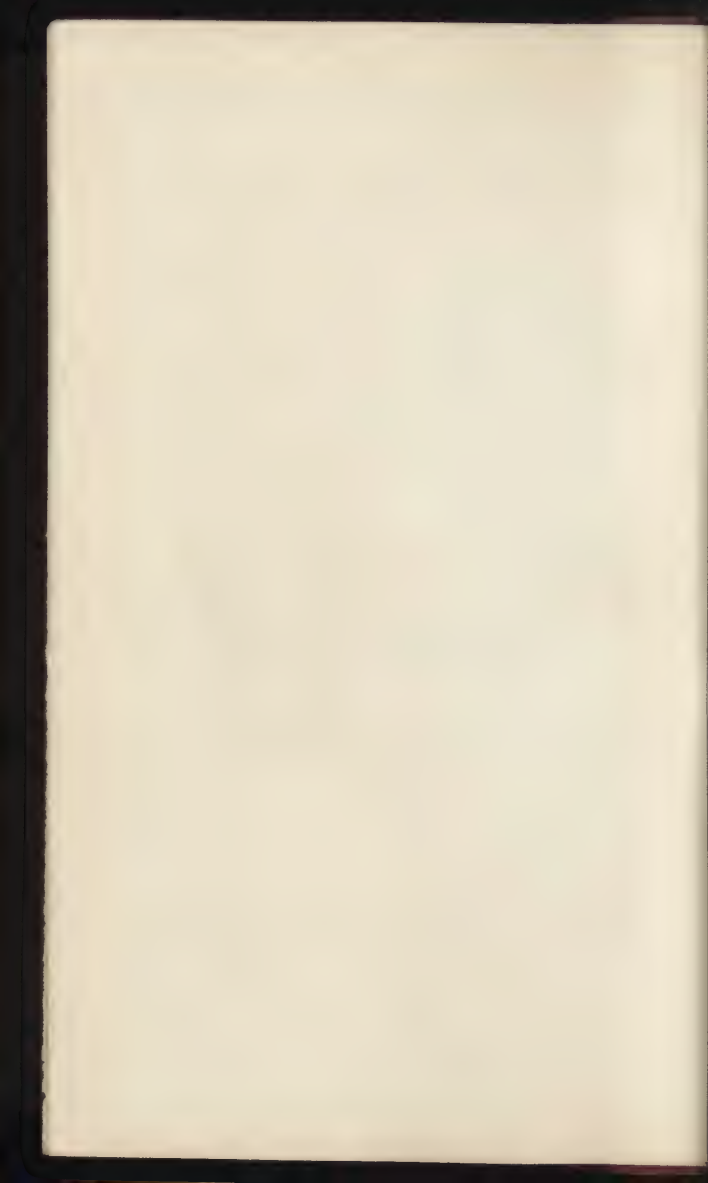
A marble altar may be seen near with sculptures on all four sides, of Castor and Pollux,



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Leda with the swan and a goddess with a long torch. There are also some other fine remains of statues found near the fountain. Some inscriptions that were discovered and a great number of earthen jars that were found here seem to show that in later times the office of the *Curator Aquarius* was established here. There is an inscription in honour of Constantine by *Lollicanus*, Curator in 328 A.D.

A little farther on, and rather nearer the Palatine, is the shrine of Juturna, a small room of brickwork facing north, with a pedestal inside for a statue, ornamented with two columns, above which the name of the goddess is inscribed. Just in front is a circular well, with a round head of marble bearing an inscription that states that M. Barbatius Pollio restored this well in honour of Juturna. The water was pulled up in buckets by ropes, the marks of which can still be seen on the marble. The water in later times at least was supplied by a lead pipe from the reservoir that was mentioned above. In front of the well is a little altar, with a relief perhaps representing Turnus taking leave of Juturna. There is a row of small arched chambers near in which some statues were found, the exact use of which is not known.

Behind the shrine of Juturna and the temple of Castor an early Christian church has been discovered, built within the walls of two halls, that was¹ originally a part of the palace of

¹ The masonry of the building is of the time of Hadrian. Mr. Rushforth considers that structurally it forms part of

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Caligula on the Palatine, and which was devoted to Christian worship about the sixth century after Christ. The first hall was used as the atrium of the church, though it was covered by a roof which was supported by a rough column in the centre erected in later times. There are a few frescoes on the walls representing the Virgin and Saints, and in a niche on the left is a bearded monk. It is clear that the numerous recesses were used for burials.

The church itself is divided into an aisle and two naves by two pilasters belonging to the original building, and perhaps by a colonnade of grey columns of granite. The wall at the end of the hall has been cut into an apse, and on each side of the apse are square chambers that have no doubt been used as chapels. It is possible that the surface of the church was divided by low screens instead of a colonnade. A great number of bones have been found of those who were buried in this church, and it is curious to see that they were often laid in stone coffins covered with pagan reliefs, which they had not troubled to erase.

The apse and almost all the walls and even the granite columns are covered with frescoes, most of which belong to the seventh and eighth centuries ; but there are traces of far finer work of earlier times. The apse contains the figure of Paul I. (757-767), which was seen at a previous excavation with a square nimbus showing that

the same block with the temple of Augustus, but that it may have formed an entrance to the palace.

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he was alive when the painting was made. It was John VII. (705), who lived in the palace of Caligula, who first made these halls into a church. It was in fact the chapel of the Popes, and was dedicated to the Virgin, under the name of S. Maria Antiqua, as is proved by an inscription that has been discovered. A winding tiled path led up from the church to the palace, and this will soon be completely restored. The frescoes on the left wall of the church represent very fully the chief events of Joseph's life, and beneath these are a number of saints belonging to the Eastern as well as the Western Churches, a fact which is interesting as helping to illustrate the influence which the Byzantine Emperors then had over the Romans, after the victories of Belisarius. In the chapel to the left of the apse are some beautiful frescoes of the Virgin, and a portrait of Pope Zacharias (741), as well as scenes from the martyrdom of Auricus and Julitta.

Near the church was a house in which the Bishop who took his title from the church resided, and between the shrine of Juturna and S. Maria a square hall has been discovered, which was probably the chapel of the Bishop's house. One of its frescoes represents the forty martyrs of Antioch who were thrown into the freezing water to die.¹ This church and residence were abandoned about the tenth century

¹ Many of the frescoes are disappearing from the effects of the air and light, but careful copies have been made, which are to be placed in the New Museum at S. Francesca Romana.

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on account perhaps of an earthquake or a great fire. Its discovery is of extreme interest, as it will perhaps enable us to know more of the construction of the early churches. The great building west of S. Maria, and immediately behind the temple of Castor, which stood quite free at the back, is the Augusteum, as it is called, a temple in honour of Augustus, completed by Caligula, which had an entrance in the side instead of at one end, as was the usual custom. A sketch of this beautiful building made by Ligorio in 1549 can be seen in Middleton's *Ancient Rome*, vol. i., p. 275.

But to return to the *Temple of Castor*. The massive basement of concrete to the east, exactly opposite the temple of Faustina, is the site of the round temple of Vesta, which was erected in very early times close to the springs of Juturna, and was again and again destroyed by fire. The bits of columns and a portion of the architrave belong to the last restoration under Septimus Severus. It is sad to relate that the whole of this beautiful temple was almost complete as late as the fifteenth century of our era, but it was shortly afterwards destroyed in order to provide materials for S. Peter's. After the great fire in the reign of Commodus, the Vestal Virgins were obliged to take refuge in the Palatine, taking with them the famous Palladium, the wooden image of Pallas Athene, that was said to have been brought from Troy, which was now seen for the first time by the eyes of men. The Romans in the earliest time had no statues of the gods in their

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temples, and this old custom never died out in the temple of Vesta ; but in place of an image of the goddess, the eternal fire burnt perpetually before her altar, and was renewed every year, on the 1st of March, by the Vestal Virgins whose duty it was to keep up the sacred flame. The fire was extinguished for ever in 394 A.D., when Theodosius II. put an end to the worship of Vesta. In the centre of the foundation of the temple there has lately been discovered a little square chamber, probably used as a storehouse, in which were found a large number of bones of animals sacrificed, and also many little votive offerings.

Near the temple, just outside the chief entrance of the Vestals' house, the remains of a small shrine have been found, sacred to an unknown deity ; and fragments of a frieze, having an inscription stating that the Senate and people of Rome erected it at the public cost.

In a line with this are the remains of the House of the Vestal Virgins, which is one of the most interesting of the ruins in Rome. These maidens were an order of women very like the nuns of the Middle Ages, who were chosen at a tender age from families of high rank, by the Pontifex Maximus, to tend the holy fire. They vowed to keep their virginity inviolate for thirty years, after which it was possible to resign their office, and to marry, though it is probable that very few did so. In return for these obligations they had the greatest privileges, and no one was treated with more honour when they went abroad, clad in their white robes. They

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were maintained at the public cost, and always attended by a lictor. If they met a criminal by accident on the way to execution, he was released; and at the great games they sat side by side with the highest magistrates.

Their house, which we now enter, was furnished with great magnificence, and possessed pavements of the most beautiful marble, as well as a fine garden within its walls, and bathrooms, with everything they could desire.

It possessed a large atrium, surrounded by an arcade in two storeys, composed of columns of the rarest marble; and between the columns of the lower storey stood the statues of the Head Vestals on pedestals, on which were inscribed their names and titles, many of which have now been re-erected. The walls were cased in marble, and in the centre was a flower garden, and also a tank, daily filled with sacred water.

Many of these statues have been removed to the museum in the baths of Diocletian, near the railway station, but several are still preserved on the spot. The name of one high priestess who ruled in 364 A.D., "*Divo Joriano et Varioniano Consulibus*," has been erased, probably, as has been suggested, because she had become a Christian. What was her name is uncertain, but the letter C, the only one that remains, may be the first of Claudia, who, as Suetonius relates, was converted from paganism.

To the east of the atrium is a large hall, generally called the *tablinum*, with a fine pavement of coloured marbles, after the fashion set

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by Alexander Severus ; and opening out of this are six small rooms, one for each Vestal, perhaps used as bedrooms originally, though they must have been very damp. The other rooms on the ground floor round the atrium were, no doubt, the reception and dining-rooms and kitchens. The second storey contained a number of bedrooms, and also several bathrooms, with hot and cold water. It was built on the level of the Nova Via, which ran along the Palatine, and had a door opening into it. There are remains of a staircase leading to a third storey, which may have contained servants' bedrooms. After the worship of Vesta was abolished by Theodosius II., a number of citizens built private houses within the abode of the Vestals, and several interesting mediæval remains have come to light, including a number of British coins, bearing the names of Aelfred, Athelstan and other Saxon kings. The whole house must have needed very elaborate apparatus for warming it, as it is protected from the sun by the Palatine and the lofty palaces on its summit. The floors were raised on a sort of earthenware jars cut in half, to avoid the damp ; and the walls were heated by hot air in terracotta pipes.

In front of the atrium and facing the Regia were jewellers' shops, but the remains of brickwork opposite the circular temple of Romulus belong to a mediæval tower such as those that the great barons erected everywhere in Rome. It is possible that a portico ran all along in front of the House of the Vestals, and

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a great part of the space facing the basilica of Constantine.

It is pretty certain that the buildings between the House of the Vestals and the arch of Titus were used to store grain and other merchandise, and probably took the place of the horrea pipertaria built by Domitian on the ground where the basilica of Constantine afterwards stood.

The Sacra Via, which turned to the right at the basilica, went beneath the *Arch of Titus* which stands on the rising ground called Velia by the Romans and was completed after the death of Titus, as we can tell by the word "divus" in the inscription upon it, which was only used of an Emperor after his death. It was built of Pentelic marble and ornamented with reliefs depicting the triumphs of Titus over the Jews. The first are in the interior on the two sides, where we see the soldiers carrying the famous seven-branched candlestick, the silver trumpets and the table of showbread. These famous relics were placed in the temple of Peace close by and were taken from Rome by Genseric, the Vandal, in 455—it is uncertain what eventually became of them. The inscription is upon the side facing the Colosseum and beneath it is a relief depicting the triumph of Titus.

In the Middle Ages it was used to form part of a feudal castle by the Frangipani, and was in such a ruinous state in 1822 that it was necessary to take it down entirely and carefully rebuild it exactly as it stood after renewing the foundations carefully.

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The site of the temple of Jupiter Stator has been identified without doubt close to the arch on the south. It was here that the poet Ovid, in his cold and dreary exile on the shores of the Black Sea, imagined himself to be standing in front of the Palatine, the hill on which the first Rome was placed, and could see before his eyes the splendid gateway of the palace of Augustus lately erected on this part of the hill.¹

After passing through the arch the Sacra Via went straight on towards the Colosseum. The group of buildings opposite the temple of Venus and Rome belong to the fourth century after Christ, and may have contained in later times some of the offices of the Papal Court on the Palatine; there are traces of bathrooms that seem to belong to a house of some kind. Possibly the baths erected by Heliogabalus stood here, and in the Middle Ages there was a tower called the Torre Cartularia, in which the Popes kept their archives, but this was close to the arch.

It only remains to say a word about the great drain that passed underneath the Forum. The famous Cloaca Maxima entered the Forum to the right of the Curia and then turned towards the Vicus Tuscus under which it passed, and finally entered the Tiber in the Forum Boarium near the round temple of Hercules. The mouth is constructed of great arches of peperino, but in nearly all the rest of its course it is built of

¹ Hic Stator: hoc primum condita Roma loco est. Singula dum miror, video fulgentibus armis Conspicuos postes, tectaque digna deo.—*Tristia*, Lib. III., l., 32-4.

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tufa blocks. A regular network of small drains mostly composed of brick ran into the Cloaca Maxima and other main drains, and the rain water from the hills and elsewhere was supposed to run through them. There does not appear to have been any system of ventilating shafts, though they were commonly used as will be shown in connection with the great aqueducts. Under the Emperors all the drains were carefully maintained at the public expense and a special board was appointed to superintend their cleaning and repair.

It has been discovered lately that there is a much older drain still existing, crossing the Forum in the direction of Vicus Jugarum, a road between the Basilica Julia and the temple of Saturn. It is as Sig. Borsari says much larger and older than the Cloaca Maxima, and is made of blocks of tufa roughly squared by an axe, so that this is no doubt the original drain of the Kings and the other is not earlier than the time of the Republic.

A great number of bones and bits of earthenware have been discovered in these drains.

Besides the great drain an endless number of old sewers exist in the Forum of all times and dates, but it is beyond the scope of this elementary book to attempt any description of their character and date.¹

¹ This year (1903) the base of the great equestrian statue of Domitian erected in honour of his victories over the Daci has been discovered in the centre of the Forum, in front of the temple of Vespasian. It lay

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THE FORA OF THE EMPERORS.

The Fora.—The streets that lead to the Forum from the Via Nazionale are some of the dullest and least interesting in Rome, but formerly the whole of this district was filled with a series of squares and arcades opening into one another, which formed one of the finest promenades that ever existed. These were built by Julius Cæsar and the earlier Emperors, who cleared away the crowded streets that had previously existed, and put in their place these beautiful squares, filling them with fine temples and libraries and in many cases surrounding them with walls.

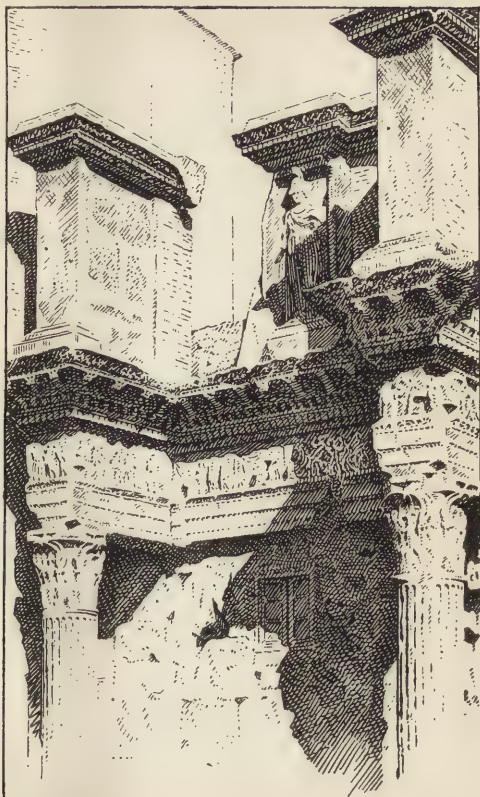
The Forum of Augustus.—Behind the *Tullianum* (cf. p. 78) and the new excavations near the Senate House was the forum of Julius, in the centre of which was a splendid temple of Venus and of which nothing remains except a few fragments of stonework. If we continue our way along the Via Bonella we reach the forum of Augustus, which was built by that Emperor in 42 B.C. At the end of this street a fine archway has been preserved, now called the Arco dei Pantani, under which the ancient road entered the Forum, and on the left, as we come from the Senate House, are the remains of the temple of Mars Ultor, which has already been described (p. 58).

about five feet below the present surface, and is forty feet long and twenty feet wide, so that the horse and figure of the Emperor must have been of enormous size.

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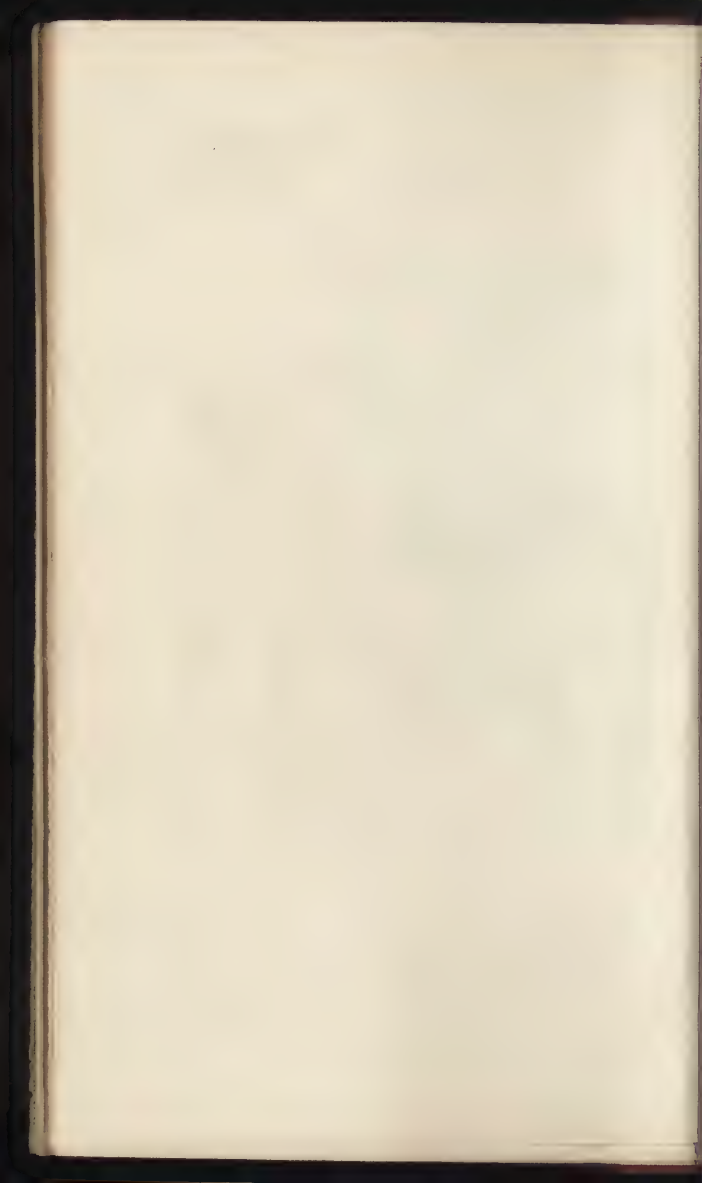
This was the last halting-place of the Salii, an ancient guild of priests who from time immemorial had been in the service of Mars, and who were accustomed in the month of March to go in processions through the streets of Rome, carrying the sacred shields, and preceded by trumpeters ; this procession lasted several days, and each evening they stopped at some halting-place, where they feasted sumptuously ; their last resting-place was in this temple and it is said that the Emperor Claudius, while hearing cases in the Forum, smelt the delightful odour of the feast preparing for them and at once adjourned the court and came to join the priests at their banquet. The Forum was surrounded by a magnificent wall of peperino, a great part of which still remains, and near the archway we can see the great height of the original work ; its irregular shape near here is due to the fact that many of the owners of houses were unwilling to sell, and as Augustus did not care to take their property by force, he contracted the wall at these points. It was originally faced inside with marble and decorated with statues of distinguished Romans ; the niches for the statues may still be seen in many places, and bits of the beautiful pavement have also been preserved.

The Forum of Nerva.—To the right of the forum of Augustus is the forum of Nerva, a long narrow enclosure rather like the promenade at Cheltenham, except that it was surrounded by walls of peperino lined with marble and



The FORUM of NERVA~

B. C. BOUTER



FORUM AND ADJACENT BUILDINGS

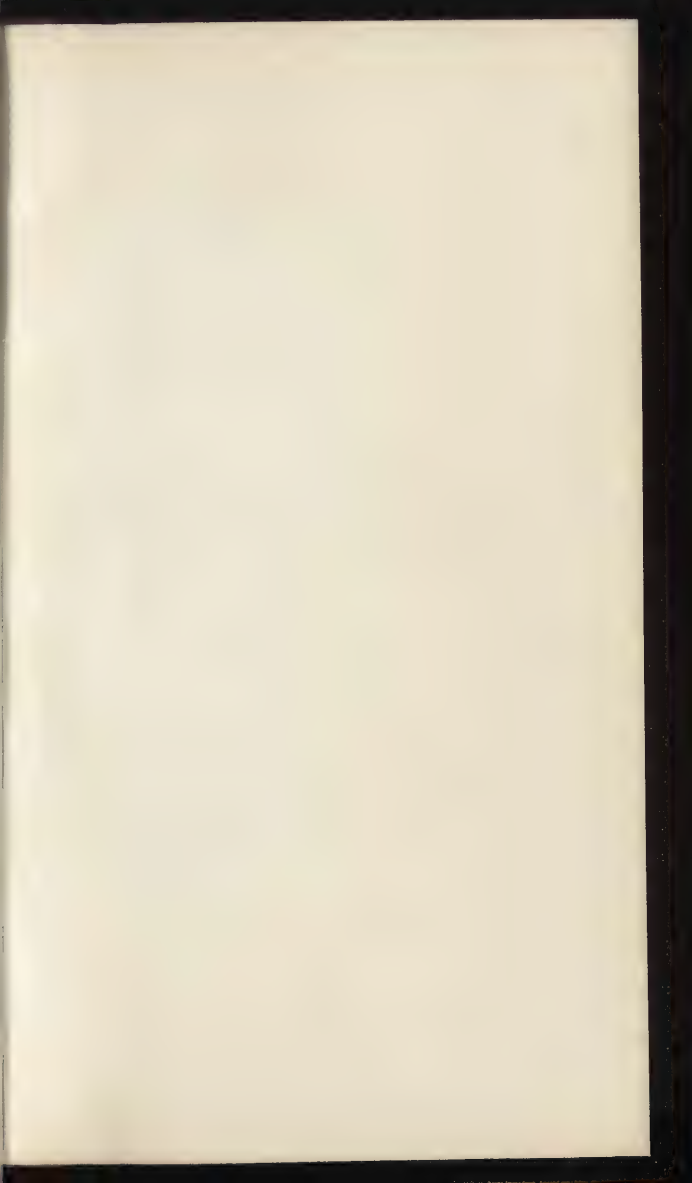
decorated with Corinthian columns, two of which still remain, half buried in the modern soil and surmounted by a fine relief of Minerva, so that people often mistake them for the remains of her temple ; this, however, is not so, though the temple was in existence as late as the sixteenth century, and many fragments no doubt lie beneath the houses near.

To the right, across the modern Via Cavour, was the forum of Vespasian, in which stood a magnificent temple of Peace, but everything has completely disappeared. Retracing our steps along the Via Alessandria, through the fora of Nerva and Augustus, we reach the last and formerly the most magnificent of these squares, the forum of Trajan ; the small space that has been excavated in the centre where the column stands is only a portion of the original forum, which contained a number of most magnificent buildings—the Basilica Ulpia, the temple of Trajan and two great libraries—and was surrounded by a noble portico of marble on three sides, while the fourth was occupied by the basilica. In order to make room for these buildings the great ridge that united the Capitoline Hill to the Quirinal was cut through and the material was carried away to the cemetery near the Via Salaria. The historian Ammianus tells us that the Emperor Constantine, when he visited Rome, was filled with admiration for the Colosseum, the Pantheon and other buildings, but when “he came to the forum of Trajan, that structure unique in all

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the world, and as I cannot but think, marvelous in the eyes of the Divinity Himself, he beheld with silent amazement these gigantic interlacings of stones, which it is past the power of speech to describe, and which no mortal must in future hope to imitate". Very little of these great works except the fine column remains, and the stones that have been set up do not really correspond to the columns of the basilica. Some of the fine reliefs, however, upon the arch of Constantine were taken from parts of this forum, and the two big horses' heads in the court near SS. Apostoli came from here. A great part of the outer enclosure still exists on the side near the Quirinal, consisting of a series of arches under which are some chambers, very probably used as shops, and an upper storey with a pretty façade of brick (No. 6, Via di Campo Carleo).

The Basilica Ulpia.—The Basilica Ulpia had an apse resembling those in the churches, with an altar in front, and a wide nave and two aisles on either side, separated by four rows of columns 35 feet high. Above these, as in *S. Agnese Fuori*, there were galleries, the roofs of which were supported by rows of smaller columns, and from these sprang the arches of the nave, which supported a wooden roof of semicircular form, covered with richly ornamented bronze plates. There were three doors, and the one in the centre had three divisions. In front of the doors was a portico, but the columns were too low to have a fine effect ; and





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the outside of the hall does not seem to have equalled the interior, although the sides were covered with slabs of rare marble.

Trajan's Column.—The great column stood in a small court near the basilica, and the spectator could inspect the sculpture upon it from the arcades at two or three levels, so that he would not have the difficulty that we now have in seeing the figures of the reliefs, which describe the exploits of Trajan in the Dacian wars. It was intended that people should see and admire them, but at present this is a difficult task, and nothing can be more absurd than the solitary columns that the French have set up in imitation, covered with small figures, that no one can read without artificial aid. The sculptures give a vivid picture of the Dacian wars—of the barbarian archers fighting on horseback beneath the dragon standard, the picturesque lake villages built on piles, the Roman legions crossing the Danube on a bridge of boats, and the last scene of all, the head of the king presented to the Emperor on a dish, while the chiefs put an end to their lives by poison in sight of their burning town.

It is not certain whether Trajan was buried at the foot of his column or not, yet his name will always be associated with it—the name of the last Emperor who carried the eagles of Rome with irresistible might to the capitals of the proudest foreign kings, and who was not content to defend the frontiers of the Empire from invasion, but added vast territories to the

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existing provinces. Yet we should be wrong to regard Trajan as a mere conqueror, and it is probable that his wars were necessary and advantageous to the Empire. It was very desirable that a strong military monarchy should not be erected on the banks of the Danube, and the province of Dacia beyond that river provided Trajan with money, and enabled him to reduce the taxation of Italy. The conquest of Mesopotamia, if he had lived to complete it, would have included within his dominions a number of wealthy Greek cities, and the frontier of the Tigris is more easily defended than that of the Euphrates. He devoted as much time and attention to the re-organisation of Italy and the provinces as he did to foreign affairs, and his letters to Pliny showed the care he expended on one province only of his vast kingdom. It is probable that Trajan, who was himself a Spaniard, hoped to combine all the subject races for the defence of the Empire, and some of his greatest generals and most of his troops were provincials ; yet there can be little doubt that Augustus was right in thinking the Empire depended upon Italian, and especially Roman labour, and that it was vitally necessary that members of the ruling race should be foremost in council and camp. Perhaps the increasing depopulation of Italy gave Trajan no choice, but it is a lesson that Englishmen, whose Empire is more like that of Rome than any other that has existed, should never forget.

Trajan himself was a man of fine presence,

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with straight, clear-cut features, which can be seen in numerous portraits by those who visit the great galleries. He boasted with justice that he put no Senator to death for treason, and he treated even the Christians, whom he must have regarded as the enemies of Roman rule, with toleration ; and, as a last service to the State, he handed over his authority to a worthy successor.

The Column of Marcus Aurelius.—There is another column closely resembling that of Trajan still standing on its original site in the Piazza Colonna, that opens into the Corso, in honour of the victories of Marcus Aurelius over the German tribes. No doubt it was intended to be seen from galleries or covered colonnades in the surrounding buildings, but the temples and halls have all disappeared, and it stands alone in the fine modern square. The pedestal on which it is erected has been altered, and is less beautiful than the original, which was less massively constructed. The whole of the shaft is occupied with a series of reliefs, which contain pictures of the German wars of Marcus. The celebrated scene of Jupiter Pluvius sending rain to the soldiers in answer to the prayer of a Christian legion, as it is supposed, is only seen with difficulty, but it is easy in other parts to make out the Emperor on horseback, with a long train of spoil taken from the Germans, and with captive women and children. The figures are more roughly cut than those on Trajan's Column, but their outline is clear and well marked.

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It is curious that Marcus, who is so justly famed for the beauty and purity of his philosophic writings, should have spent the greater part of his long reign in distant camps, but his sense of duty compelled him to confront the peril ever coming nearer and nearer, and he made a last great effort to stem the barbarian flood by adding Germany to the Empire. "He died in the camp, alone. 'Why weep for me,' were his last words of stern self-suppression, 'and not think rather of the pestilence, and of the death of all?'"¹ It is probable that if he had lived, or if his son had walked in his steps, the days of the Western Empire would have been prolonged; yet it is easy to see that his task was almost hopeless: the very means he was forced to use of enlisting barbarians in the legions and of settling foreign cultivators on the soil of Italy were full of peril. The enervating effects of domestic slavery, and the idleness caused by the free distribution of corn in Rome, which he dared not stop, as well as the moral decay, which was the result of the cruel exhibitions in the arena, had so degraded the Roman character, that not only military service, but all public duties, had become distasteful. Yet he stood forth nobly to do his best, and not only now, but even in the worse days that were to come, the Empire, as Lecky has truly said, is full of instances of brave soldiers trying under circumstances of extreme difficulty simply to do their duty.

¹ *Classical Essays*, Myers, p. 185.

CHAPTER VI.

BATHS AND AQUEDUCTS.

Baths.—The great thermæ of Rome were far more than we understand in modern times by baths. They often consisted of a number of stately halls standing in beautiful grounds, ornamented by the finest works of art, and filled with every appliance needed for study or pleasure. The hall of S. George in Liverpool is copied from the central hall of Caracalla's baths, and it gives a far more vivid idea of the real appearance of these buildings than the bare walls of brick that are seen in Rome. There are no remains still existing that enable us to follow the bathers themselves, as we can at Pompeii, and any one who desires to understand perfectly the descriptions of Roman bathing that are found in books must go to that town.

Roman Bathing.—A Roman bath was a very long and elaborate affair, very much like our Turkish baths. It is not, however, probable that every bather went through the entire course of baths; probably he followed the advice of his doctor or his own inclination. The chief rooms that exist in the Pompeiian baths are the

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undressing room, which was very often in the *frigidarium* or cold room, which might or might not have a cold swimming bath in it, the *tepidarium*, which was a moderately warm room, and the *caldarium* or *laconicum*, which was a very hot room in the centre of which was a small bath. No doubt it was customary to begin with the warm and hot baths, and to finish with a cold plunge or douche before going out, so as to avoid cold. The rooms are heated by open braziers or by double floors and walls containing pipes that were filled with hot air from a furnace. In the dressing-rooms may still be seen the recesses in which to place the clothes, and some of the rooms are so complete that they seem only to need a little repair to be used again to-day.

The Great Roman Thermæ.—The great Roman establishments had probably every convenience that could be thought of for bathers, and the great halls whose walls can still be seen are called by the names given to the rooms in the small baths, but it is often doubtful if we can really be certain of their being the same. In fact the baths were only a small part of these great buildings, which contained besides halls for gymnastic exercises and for games, rooms for lecturers and public readers, beautiful porticoes in which to promenade and talk, and even libraries for the studious. Many of these halls and rooms were ornamented by beautiful frescoes, or cased with valuable marbles, and often filled by exquisite copies of the masterpieces of

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Greek sculpture. Some of the finest statues that can be seen in the Museum at Naples or the Vatican galleries were discovered in the Roman baths. The floors generally consisted of black and white or coloured mosaics. Besides the great marble or bronze statues that stood in the halls, there were a countless number of bright-coloured basins, of hanging lamps of bronze, and of beautiful objects of every kind, so that even if the taste of some of the architectural ornament was open to question, the general appearance of the interior of these buildings must have been extremely grand, and in hot weather the vast floors and cool marble columns and the fountains that were ever playing and the vast artificial lakes must have been extremely grateful to the wearied Romans ; while, as we know, the price of admission was so low as to be merely nominal. Yet, though this was so, these baths **were** often visited by men of the highest rank, and even by the Emperors themselves, who did not disdain in later times to bathe amid their subjects, just as the despotic sovereigns of France admitted strangers to see them rise in the morning and dress.

A Roman gentleman before bathing was anointed with some cheap oil and during the bath he was scraped by the attendants with a sort of comb called a strigil, generally made of bronze. After the cold bath he was thoroughly dried by cotton or linen cloths and then finally again anointed with precious and sweet smelling unguents or perfumed oil. The time for bathing

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was generally the afternoon, and it is said that the baths were closed at four or five o'clock.

The Water Supply and Heating.—The water was supplied by the great aqueducts that are described in this chapter, and at least in the baths of Caracalla entered into a big castellum or reservoir, when it was distributed into three storeys, the lowest of which was heated by great furnaces, and from this it flowed underground into the baths. To prevent the water cooling as it went these pipes were surrounded by flues filled with hot air, which can still be seen in many places in the floor and walls. There was also an elaborate system of heating the warm and hot rooms by means of cavities beneath the floors, which were filled with hot air from furnaces at the sides or at a still lower storey. The floor was supported by a number of little pillars that can still be seen in the baths of Caracalla, or was made of a solid block of concrete, as was the case in the baths attached to Severus' palace on the Palatine.

The Baths of Caracalla.—The baths of Caracalla are in every way the most complete and most interesting of those that still exist in Rome. They are close to the Via di Porta S. Sebastiano and very near to the tombs of the Scipios and the Vigna Codini, but they are themselves well worth an afternoon's wanderings. The central building stood in its own grounds, which consisted partly of walks and shrubberies and partly of an arena in which sports and exercises took place. The whole

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was surrounded by a vast rectangular enclosure, which contained porticoes and rooms of all kinds for lectures and amusement.

Facing the Appian Way there was a magnificent portico a quarter of a mile long, and opposite this the reservoirs that supplied the water for the baths. The whole of this enclosure has not been preserved, but fragments of it may be seen all round. The present entrance to the baths, where we pay, is in the side, where there were vestibules for exercise and dressing-rooms and perhaps libraries, but if we go straight on we enter a big hall, which is generally called the *frigidarium*, and contains three apses. The ceiling in this room must have been supported by iron girders, as an enormous number were found when it was excavated. Parts of the mosaic pavement still exist, rather coarsely executed with figures of horses and sea monsters, and some of the marble panelling of the walls.

In the centre of the building is a great hall that had a large vaulted roof in three compartments like that in the basilica of Constantine, springing from eight great columns, one of which is preserved in the Piazza S. Trinita at Florence. This is usually called the *tepidarium*, and on the other side corresponding to the hall called the *frigidarium* is a great circular building, that was probably lighted from the roof like the Pantheon and which is called the *caldarium*. There is a regular suite of rooms underneath this, probably used by the bath ser-

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vants. The various smaller rooms are arranged all round the three great halls, but it is hardly worth while to spend time in trying to identify these, and indeed it is not even certain that the principal ones have been rightly named. At each end of the tepidarium were two open courts surrounded by a colonnade of precious marble probably used for exercise.

Although almost all the decorations have disappeared it is not difficult by the aid of pictures and the memory of other buildings to imagine the grandeur of these baths. The hall of S. George in Liverpool is an almost exact reproduction of the Tepidarium of Caracalla ;¹ no building has ever been erected in modern times that has so successfully reproduced the proportions of the classical artists ; the windows and the other modern necessities have been so successfully concealed, that, if it could be removed bodily to Rome, we might well believe that one of the old baths or palaces had returned in perfect beauty.

Little can be seen in these ruins except fragments of marble and great pieces of mosaic pavement covered with sea monsters, but the great skeleton bare and grim as it now is clearly proves that Ferguson was right in saying that there is nothing in the world that now compares for size and grandeur with these great palaces of recreation. The magnificent domes and apses must have rivalled those of S. Peter's

¹ Cf. "Engraving of the Tepidarium restored," in *Dictionary of Antiquities*, vol. i., p. 282.

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and the Lateran. Perhaps the internal covering of the roof, which consisted chiefly of panels such as we see in the temple of Venus and Rome, was poor, yet the columns of bright marbles round the rooms, the recesses filled with beautiful statues, the gorgeous pavements and above all the vast scale on which everything was made, must have been more attractive than we can easily imagine. Those who go to see the sculptures of the Vatican can easily in imagination fill these vast rooms with the figures of marble and bronze, the images of gods and statesmen or of quaint and curious animals, the enormous basins of coloured marble that once stood there.

The beautiful mosaic pavement of the pugilists now in the Lateran collection was taken from the great hall of these baths. Here too was found the great group of Dirce tied to the bull now in the Museum at Naples and the gigantic statue of Hercules. Several large baths of solid porphyry may be seen in the Vatican Museum which came from these baths, as well as the two basins under the fountains in the Piazza Farnese.

There was, of course, the other side of the picture—the swarm of dirty and ragged men that Gibbon speaks of, who loitered away whole days in these stately halls, and spent their time in idleness and debauchery ; but in themselves these great baths were good, and under proper rules would benefit any city in modern times.

The Baths of Diocletian.—The only other

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baths besides those of Caracalla, of which great fragments still remain, are those of Diocletian, near the railway station. They contained everything that the baths of Caracalla possessed, and perhaps were even more magnificent. It is said that as many as 3,000 bathers could use them at once, and fortunately we are able to form some idea of their grandeur, as the church of S. Maria degli Angeli was constructed from the tepidarium of the old baths by Michael Angelo in 1561. The present transept was originally the nave, and the eight big columns of red granite in it belong to the old building ; and the greater part of the roof, which is worth a careful investigation, is also original. The present nave, which was added in 1749, contains eight new columns of brick. The interior of the church is exquisitely proportioned, and the general effect of the marble pillars along the walls is very beautiful, and enables us to call up a picture of the great hall that is most valuable, if we wish to really understand what ancient Rome was like. The simple vault of the roof is very beautiful, though it has lost its bright-coloured ornaments, except a few gilt rosettes, which Middleton considers must have supported clusters of hanging lamps. Michael Angelo raised the pavement three feet, so as to avoid the damp ; and the pictures in the church were nearly all brought from S. Peter's.

The entrance hall of the church was a room in the baths, and the small church of S. Bernardo, close by, was originally a rotunda, lighted from

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the top in the usual way. Many other walls and rooms remain, some of which are worth a visit : one in particular, that is occupied by a woodcutter, possesses a very complete roof, and may have been a lecture-room. The *Museo delle Terme Diocleziane* is also placed in a portion of the baths, and contains the cloisters constructed by Michael Angelo for the Carthusians, who for some time possessed a monastery in the ruins.

The Baths of Titus and Trajan.—Some ruins still exist belonging to the baths of Titus and Trajan on the Esquiline, on the site of the great palace of Nero called the *Aurea Domus*.

The Golden House of Nero.—This building and its gardens extended from the Palatine as far as the site of S. Maria Maggiore, and contained, it is said, within its limits woods filled with all sorts of wild beasts, and lakes teeming with fish ; long rows of porticoes in which to walk in hot weather, and everything that could delight the eye or please the senses. The halls within were ornamented with gold, ivory and marble, and filled with the most beautiful works of art. Yet there must have been a passage through the park from the Forum to the Cælian, and also to other quarters, and no doubt a great part of the grounds was always open to the public.¹

The baths of Titus were built over part of the palace, and one court with its corridors and rooms can still be seen. The entrance is by a

¹ Cf. Merivale, vi., 355.

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gateway on the road leading from the Colosseum to S. Pietro in Vincoli. A garden can be traced, surrounded by colonnades, with a fountain in the centre, but it is difficult to get a clear view on account of the parallel walls built across by Titus to support the platform on which his baths were placed. These rooms contained in the sixteenth century some celebrated frescoes, from which Raphael is said to have copied his designs for the Loggie of the Vatican ; but very few of these are now visible. They were painted with exquisite skill, and testify to the good taste of the Roman artists in the first century after Christ.

Behind the baths of Titus there was another and a larger establishment of the same kind built by Trajan, rough fragments of which may be seen in the grounds of the Palazzo Field (entrance in the Via Merulana), which visitors are generally permitted to see ; but there is little to be learned from them. In the same grounds may be seen the reservoir called the Sette Sale, divided into nine chambers by parallel walls, which was probably used to supply the palace, and retained by the later Emperors for the baths. As far as we can tell, these baths were not unlike those of Caracalla, and the baths of Titus also contained a theatre. The beautiful ruins under *S. Martino ai Monti* may have been originally part of Trajan's baths.

There are no remains of the great baths of Constantine on the Quirinal, except a few fragments of marble in the Colonna Gardens. The two great statues of heroes standing by their

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horses on the Quirinal were found here, and also the statue of Constantine in the entrance hall of the Lateran Church.

Aqueducts.—For 441 years, says Frontinus, the Romans were content to get their water from the Tiber, from wells and from fountains, many of which, like that of Juturna in the Forum, which has lately been uncovered, were regarded as sacred to particular deities.

But later, to meet the needs of the increasing population and to satisfy a growing taste for bathing, they brought water from a great distance in public works to the city, just as the large manufacturing towns of England bring their water from the lakes or from Wales. Many of these aqueducts are great engineering works and well deserve the praise bestowed upon them by Pliny in speaking of the Claudian Aqueduct. Our knowledge of them is derived almost entirely from the writing of Frontinus, who was a curator aquarum under Nerva and Trajan, but any one who looks over the Campagna from the train can see the long lines of ruined arches stretching over the flat surface, and there are many places where he can examine them closely and observe the method of their construction.

Aqua Claudia.—The first aqueduct was constructed by the Censor Appius Claudius in 312 B.C.

The water was carried to Rome by an underground channel from a point seven miles south of the city to the Porta Capena, in the Servian

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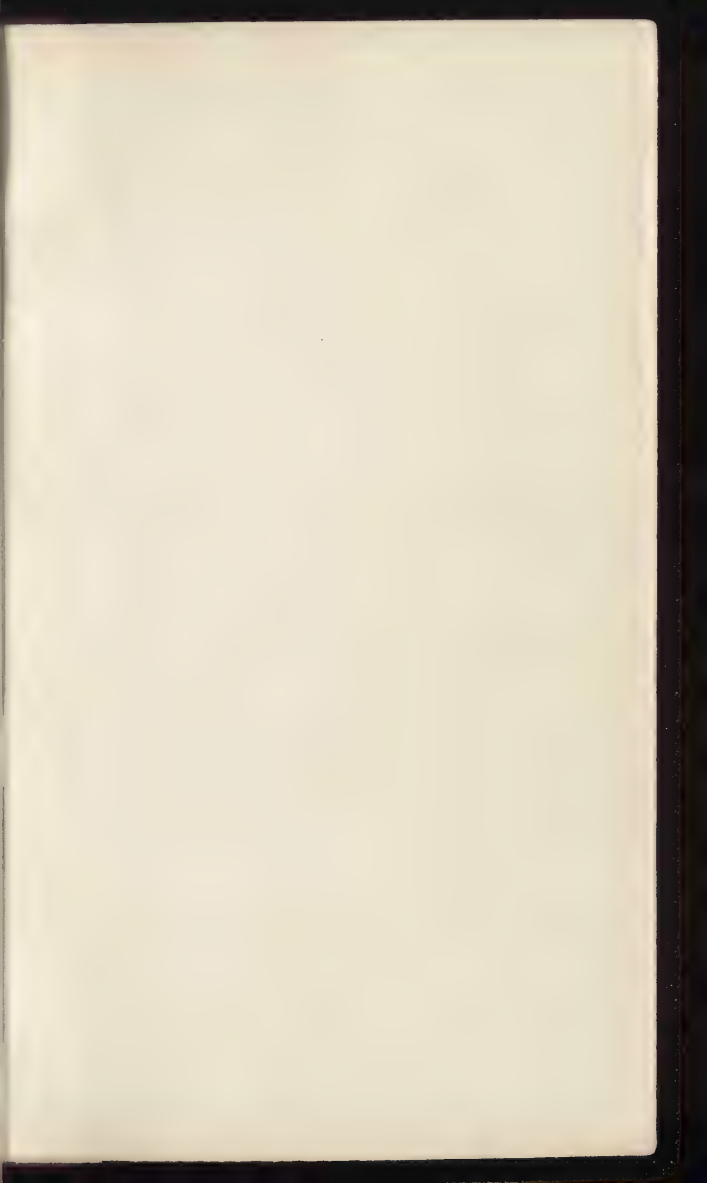
Wall, which stood near the church of S. Gregorio, from where it was carried into the city on arches. It is possible to see a portion of its underground channel in some old tufa quarries near the church of S. Saba on the Aventine. Forty years later another aqueduct brought the water of the Anio from Tivoli to Rome also by an underground tunnel which entered near the present Porta Maggiore.

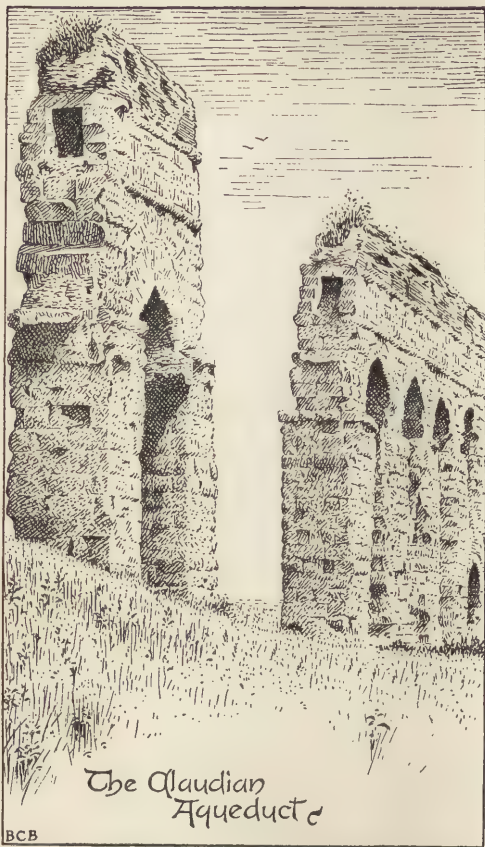
Aqua Marcia.—It was not till the year 144 B.C. that I. Marcus Rex by command of the Senate constructed the great aqueduct named after him.

The water was carried to Rome from a point thirty-eight miles distant in the valley of the Anio above Tivoli, and a considerable portion of it was carried above ground on arches the remains of which can be seen at many points and especially at the place called Roma Vecchia, on the Appian Way, and just inside the present Porta S. Lorenzo, where the Aqua Marcia passes over an arch built by Augustus of travertine, beneath the Aqua Tepula and the Julia. From here to the Porta Maggiore its arches can be seen all along the town wall, and the same arcade was used afterwards to carry the two other aqueducts.

Aqua Tepula.—The first of these, the Tepula, was constructed a few years after the Marcia, but it was not until 33 B.C. that the great Agrippa who built the original Pantheon gave Rome the Julia.

Aqua Julia.—Both these aqueducts brought





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water from springs to the south of Rome in the Alban Hills, and in a part of this course they flow in the same channel and they are often supported by the arches of the Aqua Marcia.

All these follow the line of the wall from the Porta Maggiore to the Porta S. Lorenzo and should be carefully examined by the visitor.

Aqua Virgo.—Fourteen years later Agrippa found it necessary to bring more water in order to supply the baths he was building behind the Pantheon. This famous aqueduct, which still brings its pure water to Rome, may be seen by any one who visits the fountain of Trevi; it was called the Aqua Virgo and was as good for bathing as the Marcia was for drinking. It comes from the east of Rome near the source of the Appia and enters the town underneath the Pincian Hill. It supplies also the fountain in the Piazza di Spagna. Remains of this aqueduct exist behind the Trevi Fountain, where the aqueduct passed over an ancient street. Claudius repaired this part and ornamented it with rather pretty columns.

The Anio Novus and the Claudia.—The two finest aqueducts, the Anio Novus and the Claudia, were both finished by the Emperor Claudius about 52 A.D. For the last seven miles of their course from the south they are carried across the Campagna in the same magnificent arches, and reach Rome at the Porta Maggiore, where they pass over the present gate. They can be often distinguished

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from the arches of other aqueducts by their imposing appearance, and they are also far less continuous than the lower arches that carried the Marcia, Tepula and Julia.

The view also of the ruined arches stretching over the flat plain from the tombs on the Appian Way is very striking. Part of the Claudian Aqueduct, where it supplies the palaces on the Palatine, can be seen from that hill or from the road leading from the Colosseum to S. Gregorio. This was added by Nero, who also took a branch to the Colosseum, which passed over the so-called arch of Dolabella.

Trajan's Aqueduct.—The Emperor Trajan found it necessary to supply the inhabitants of Trastevere with water and he brought it to Janiculum from the Sabine Lake (Lago di Bracciano). His aqueduct went right over the hill and its water can still be seen near S. Pietro in Montorio feeding the great marble fountain on the hill not far from the Porta S. Pancrazio.

It was restored by Paul V., from whom it gets its name of Acqua Paola, and it supplies the whole district of Trastevere and the streets near the Vatican, and feeds the fountains near S. Peter's. The Emperor Alexander Severus brought water from near the Lake Regillus in order to supply his baths. The only aqueduct of modern times, the Acqua Felice (1587 A.D.) of Pope Sextus V., makes use of both the lines of arches that have been mentioned, and probably brings the water from the same source as the aqueduct of Severus.

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There is nothing at Rome that is more worth a careful study than these great aqueducts, for nothing shows better the secret of Roman greatness ; the strength of the Roman character can only be realised by those who study the great engineering works that the Roman people constructed to secure the health and comfort of the city, the magnificent roads with which they covered Italy, and the strong and graceful bridges many of which exist to this day. In carrying out these works the Romans did not copy or imitate other nations, and they entirely avoided the excess of ornament that appears in some of their less useful buildings.

The aqueducts as we see them resemble nothing so much as a modern railway, as they take their course over valleys and through hills, though the arches of solid masonry are always constructed so as to please the eye and satisfy our sense of proportion. In some cases, as we may see in the "Pont du Gard" near Nîmes in south France, the arches were of enormous width. It has often been asked if it was not a very expensive way of carrying water when it could have been brought far more cheaply in pipes as we do in England. The Romans were well acquainted with the use of pipes, and with the mechanical laws by which the transmission of water is governed.

They did in fact carry the water in some places down one side and up the other of a big valley by means of lead pipes and syphons ; this has been proved by discoveries made near

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Lyons, but they were probably unable to cast iron pipes strong enough to carry a large volume of water, and lead is very expensive.

Possibly, also, they found that a deposit might be gradually formed in the pipes and choke the water.

However this may be the water is conveyed to Rome in a small channel, formed outside of very hard cement, supported on a series of arches either of stone or of rubble faced with brick.

This channel is generally arched above and the bottom is always curved; it is sometimes as high as eight feet, but usually of four or five. It is always covered so as to exclude the sun and rain, and at intervals it is ventilated by air holes in the roof or sides.

By means of this workmen could enter the channel and see if it was stopped up, and why; when the water ran underground, the descent was made by a round brick shaft, one of which still remains near the railway station. In this way it was not necessary to take up the road to make the necessary repairs as is the custom in modern times.

Sometimes the water does not run in the channel, but in pipes carefully cemented at the joints.

The Romans in fact were acquainted with all the methods of modern drainage, though as far as we know they did not apply them. The sources of these aqueducts being usually on high ground, the water was conveyed to Rome by a

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winding course to avoid a rapid rush, and reservoirs were often placed at turning-points for the same reason, and also that the sand and other impurities might be deposited at the bottom of the reservoir.

The land on both sides of the watercourse was purchased by the State, to avoid any possible injury from buildings or roots of trees.

When the water reached the city it was stored in a vast reservoir, called the *Castellum Aquarum*, and from this it flowed into smaller castella, from which the baths and fountains as well as private houses were supplied.

One only of these castella still exists in Rome, in the garden of the Piazza Vittorio Emanuele, generally called the *Trophies of Marius*, from some ornaments of later date that were placed inside and were moved in the sixteenth century to the Capitol. It was probably the *castellum* of the *Aqua Julia* built by Alexander Severus on the Esquiline. It is difficult to distinguish the several parts now, but it was no doubt originally covered by marble, and decorated by statues. Most of the great baths had a reservoir of their own, and that belonging to the baths of *Cara-calla* still exists, as well as the big vaults called the *Sette Sale*, which supplied the palace of Nero.

Under the Republic the control of the water supply was vested in the magistrates generally, but Augustus appointed a special officer of consular rank, called "*curator aquarum*," who was in future to have full control over the water supply. This important post was afterwards

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held by many eminent men, among whom were Agrippa and Frontinus. He had under him several officials and a large body of skilled slaves, whose duty it was to keep the works in repair. He also regulated the supply to private persons and collected the charges through his officers. No one was allowed to convey water from any reservoir to his house without permission, and the charge was regulated by the size of the pipe that conveyed the water for his private use.

Probably no town has ever enjoyed in any age so abundant a supply of excellent water ; it has been calculated that there was enough to give 230 gallons daily to each person. A very great part of this, of course, was used for the great Imperial baths and the Pretorian Camp, for countless fountains and public offices, and also it would appear that much was illegally abstracted from the public pipes by tapping them without leave in various places. Yet in spite of this water must have been more abundant than it is to-day in London, and during the Middle Ages it has been calculated that the inhabitants of Paris received one quart only a day. Probably London before the days of the New River was little better off.

In 537 A.D. these magnificent aqueducts were cut off by order of Vitiges, king of the Goths, who was besieging Belisarius in Rome. They were never restored in ancient times, and the inhabitants of Rome betook themselves to the ancient wells and springs, many of which

BATHS AND AQUEDUCTS

still remained. In later times some of the old aqueducts were repaired, and a new one was constructed, and these by themselves are sufficient to supply modern Rome with excellent and abundant water.

CHAPTER VII.

THEATRES AND AMPHITHEATRES.

Theatres.—The theatre of the Romans was very like that of the Greeks; in both there was a large stage opposite to a vast semicircle in which the audience sat in seats that rose in tiers one over the other. Between the stage and the seats of the spectators was the orchestra, a flat space which was occupied by the chorus in a Greek theatre and by the seats of privileged persons in Italy. A good example of this may be seen at Taormina, where an old Greek theatre has been erected and adapted by the Romans.

The plays that were acted in Rome depended for their effect mainly on what may be called the scenery, the decorations of the stage, or the brilliant costumes and numbers of those who passed before the eyes of the audience. Pliny tells us that the stage in the theatre of Scaurus, a merely temporary erection, was crowded with marble columns and statues, and the Romans delighted in gorgeous exhibitions of dress and armour.

The only plays that had any real popularity in Rome were a very rude kind of farce, and





THEATRE OF MARCELLUS

THEATRES AND AMPHITHEATRES

no great dramas were ever written by Latin authors. The Roman populace never shared the fondness of the Athenians for dramatic performances, and in very early times their theatres were used for the exhibitions of savage animals and for fights of gladiators. The performances took place in early times in wooden buildings, and the first stone theatre was not built by Pompey until 55 B.C. ; but in the time of Augustus two other large ones were constructed. These were used under the Emperors especially for what we should call pantomime, in which there was some sort of love story generally of a licentious kind, and a great number of graceful dancers and pretty girls appeared on the stage. It cannot be doubted that the moral effect of these exhibitions was not good, and some of the actors came as prominently before the public as in modern times. Fragments still exist of two of the larger theatres—the theatre of Marcellus and that of Balbus.

The Theatre of Marcellus.—The first-named was commenced by Julius Cæsar and completed by Augustus, who gave it the name of his son-in-law Marcellus, whom he tenderly loved. It stood just outside the Servian Wall in the modern street, Via del Teatro di Marcelllo.

The outside consisted of arcades very like those of the Colosseum, but they are more gracefully constructed, as was to be expected from the date. The carving on the capitals is very well executed, and the whole has an

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appearance of lightness and strength in spite of the poverty-stricken houses that have been built inside its ruins. The side near the Tiber contained the stage on which the Orsini Palace is now built, but it is still possible to see some of the dressing-rooms, which are now used as offices. The lowest row of arcades is buried more or less completely in the soil. There are a few fragments still left of the theatre of Balbus, a friend of Augustus, at 23, Via S. Bartolommeo, and the statues of Castor and Pollux on the top of the Capitol steps were taken from here.

The Circus Maximus.—Though the Romans cared little for dramatic performances, on the other hand from quite early times they had a special fondness for chariot races and other amusements of the same kind, and equestrian games are said to have been held in the very earliest times. It would seem that these took place in the valley between the Palatine and Aventine Hills, where the Jewish cemetery now is, even in the time of the kings. At first, no doubt, the spectators sat or stood on the grassy slopes, then wooden seats were placed there and afterwards stone, and Augustus added a magnificent marble box for the Emperor. Finally, a regular building was constructed in some respects like the Colosseum, but of a different shape, long and rather narrow and round at one end, very much like the shape of the *Piazza Navona*, which still retains the external shape of the *Circus Agonalis* which stood there. The

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original Circus was called the Circus Maximus, and after Trajan's improvements was one of the grandest buildings in Rome, but very few remains indeed can now be found, nothing in fact but a few stones and bits of masonry scattered over the valley which are very difficult to find.

A few walls and arches can be seen behind the church of S. Maria in Cosmedin.

The outside of the Circus was very much like that of the Colosseum, but the arches were of marble, and the spina and other parts of the interior were ornamented with statues and obelisks. After its restoration by Claudius it held as many as 250,000 spectators.

They sat in each of the long sides, and were protected from the racers or wild beasts by a canal on either side. In the middle of the Circus was a long raised wall called the spina, round which the chariots raced. The chariot which first ran seven times round the course was victorious, and the driver received a large sum of money. The chariots started from covered enclosures from one of the ends called the Carceres, and the remains that we see near S. Maria in Cosmedin are the substructures of these. The lofty State box of the Emperor was entered on the side of the Palatine, so that he could readily reach it from his palace. Before the construction of the Colosseum, a large number of wild beasts were destroyed in the Circus. They fought with one another or with men, and for this purpose criminals were employed or gladiators served for money. The

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obelisk of red granite now in the square of the Lateran was found in the Circus Maximus. The *Circus of Nero* stood near the Vatican ; part of its site is covered by S. Peter's, and the great obelisk in the square used to stand on its spina.

The *Circus of Maxentius* on the Via Appia, two miles from the Porta S. Sebastiano, is the only one remaining in Rome that still preserves its original form, and should certainly be visited.

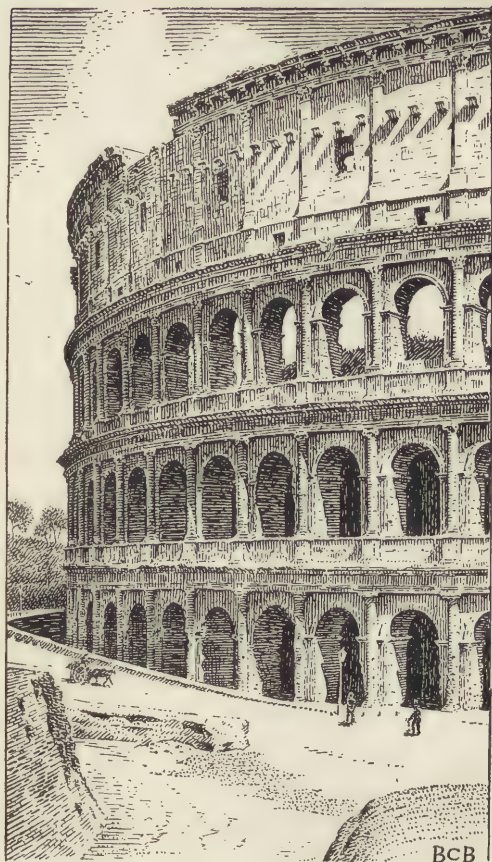
All the various parts that have been mentioned can here be traced more or less perfectly.

Recent Discoveries in the Forum.—Games of all kinds used to be exhibited in the Forum, and last year (1901) the subterranean galleries have been discovered that were used by the performers in the games exhibited by Julius Cæsar, who probably ordered them to be made.

These galleries are in the middle of the Forum, just in front of the rostra, and are 10 feet high and 4 feet broad ; and there are square chambers at intervals, from which the scenery was hauled up by windlasses to the surface ; and very probably feasts and banquets were prepared underground for the people. They do not, however, appear to have been much used after the accession of Augustus.

Amphitheatres.—As time went on it is probable that the exhibitions of beasts and contests of gladiators could not be conveniently seen in the long and rather narrow Circus, and also it was not easy to protect the spectators from the savage animals. But the chief reason for preer-





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THE COLOSSEUM

THEATRES AND AMPHITHEATRES

ring a round building was, no doubt, that a far larger number of spectators could be brought together within a smaller area. At first amphitheatres were constructed of wood, but these were often exposed to fire and other accidents, so that more permanent buildings of stone or brick were soon erected. The Roman amphitheatres were almost invariably built in big cities, and took the place of the theatres for the drama and music that we find so often in Greek towns.

The Colosseum.—The most remarkable if not the most perfect amphitheatre that remains is the Colosseum of Rome, erected by the Emperor Titus. This great building consists of a series of arcades placed one over the other, and the constant repetition of arch over arch gives the spectator a sense of size and grandeur that many finer buildings fail to do.

The arrangement of the arches between the pillars is not a very beautiful one, and the solid upper storey is very ugly; but fortunately a great part of it has been broken off, and probably the building looks much finer as it now is than it did when in complete repair. The shape, too, is not completely circular, but oval, and as you look at it from the sides the long lines of straight stone over the arches seem to disappear in the most graceful way. The lowest order of columns rests on the ground floor, and is of a debased Doric style; the second is Ionic and the third Corinthian. The fourth consists of rather clumsy pilasters or square pillars.

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The exterior was all covered with marble, and perhaps adorned with statues, and just outside stood the wonderful colossal statue of Nero, nearly 120 feet high, on which after his death Vespasian placed the head of the sun god, which stood in later times on the pedestal that may be seen between the Colosseum and the temple of Venus at Rome. The lower part of a great fountain also still exists close by, and is now called the *meta sudans*. The water fell into a large basin, and there were statues in the lower part.

The benches of the spectators were surrounded by a wall of 15 feet to defend them from the wild beasts. This has now been taken down, so that the space inside where the contests took place appears larger than it really was. The floor of the arena was probably only a few feet lower than the present ground, and consisted of bricks covered with sand. Beneath these are a vast number of enormous substructures, consisting of the dens in which the animals were kept before being raised to the level of the arena in cages, and of the rooms used by the gladiators and the various slaves employed in the service of the games. The arena was occasionally flooded for the display of mock naval fights, but the depth of water, except here and there, could not have been great, on account of the substructures.

Above the wall that protected the spectators was a terrace called the *podium*, and on this were the seats of the senators and the throne of the Emperor, as well as a sort of pulpit for the man

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who paid the cost of the games. Distinguished foreigners sat here also, and then were places reserved for the Vestal Virgins, and probably the magistrates sat in their curule chairs.

Some of these seats still exist in S. Pietro in Vincoli and other churches in the centre of the apse, where the Bishop sat in the early Christian times. The *podium* was originally, no doubt, cased with marble, and possibly had some kind of cover raised on a colonnade, but no traces of this now remain. At the back all round there is a wide passage, and behind it the benches, which extended in one long series all round the building, right up to the wall at the top of the second storey. This wall was pierced with doors and also windows, to give access to the space behind, and also to enable people who could not find a seat to see the games. The seats are divided into divisions or wedges, as in a modern theatre, by narrow staircases, and the lowest rows were assigned to the knights. Above the wall was another terrace, and probably another series of seats, perhaps of wood, for the common people and the women, who were not allowed to sit lower, except perhaps those of very high rank, who sat near the Vestal Virgins. There is said to have been a range of columns all round the encircling wall on the inside, on a third terrace above the seats of the common people. At the very top was a narrow standing-place for the men who managed the great awnings that protected the spectators from the sun, but it is difficult to believe that this could have been

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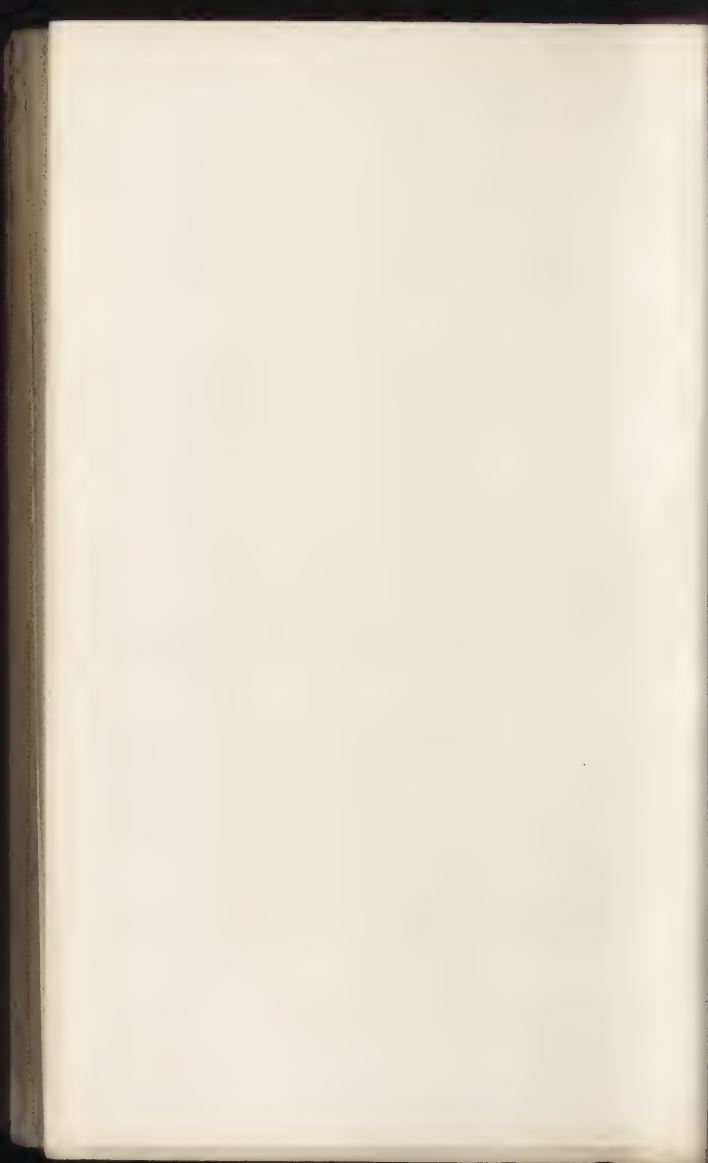
carried right across the building. The enormous space beneath these rows of seats was occupied by the walls that supported them, and by the narrow staircases that led to each.

These walls are of great strength ; the upper part is of concrete faced with thick bricks and the lower of large stones of tufa strengthened in many places with lines of travertine.

Everything was devised with the greatest care to avoid confusion and any danger of a crush. Each spectator was provided with an ivory ticket on which was written the name of his wedge (*cuneus*), his row and the number of his seat. The people could enter by any of the arches in the lowest tier and found themselves inside circular corridors from which they ascended to the various terraces and so to their seats. There may be seen also outside a few upright stones which were connected by wooden bars and formed a sort of outside fence which prevented every chance of a rush through the doors. The wild animals used to be kept in a menagerie close to the great Pretorian Camp that still exists near the wall on the north side of the city, and these were under the special charge of the soldiers. It has been suggested that the night before the games they were brought to the rooms beneath the temple of Claudius, near the church of SS. Giovanni e Paolo, from which they could be brought to the dens underneath the arena by an underground passage. Very probably when the arena was flooded they were placed in cages at the side



INTERIOR OF THE COLOSSEUM



THEATRES AND AMPHITHEATRES

of the arena beneath the *podium*. The number of animals that were slain was sometimes enormous, sometimes as many as ten thousand after some great victory, and the strangest things were seen—as elephants dancing and bears dragging chariots. At no age has the art of taming or provoking beasts been carried to such perfection. The gladiators who fought with one another and with the beasts were partly criminals and partly men who from their own wishes or the compulsion of friends had entered the schools which existed in Rome and the provinces for training men for this career. There are at Pompeii the remains of a barrack that was used for this purpose in which a number of bodies were discovered, no doubt those of gladiators and their trainers.

The small *amphitheatre* between the Porta Maggiore and the Porta S. Giovanni was used to train gladiators and also animals who had to perform special tasks. Gladiators fought in all kinds of ways, with swords and spears, from horseback or in chariots; a very famous one was the *Retiarius*, who had a net to entangle his adversary and a three-pointed spear to stick into him when he was caught.

The Exhibition of Gladiators.—These exhibitions were brought to Rome from Etruria and at first only took place at funerals, but they had a fatal attraction for the rude and warlike Romans. The gladiators, however, never attained the social position of the men employed in the bull fights in Spain, and it was thought a

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very great disgrace that a knight or a senator should take part in an exhibition.

It is impossible to exaggerate the evil effect of these games on the character and tastes of the Romans. "That not only men but women in an advanced period of civilisation—men and women who not only professed, but very frequently acted upon a high code of morals—should have made the carnage of men their habitual amusement, that all this should have continued for centuries is one of the most startling facts in modern history" (Lecky's *History of Morals*, vol. i., p. 271).

It has been said that they afforded an opportunity to the great crowds who flocked to them of expressing their wishes to the Emperor, who was often enabled by this means to learn the opinion of his people, which he could discern no other way. But if we grant this, the entire loss of human feelings and the evil effects of continual excitement, with the distaste for all work which it produced, far outweighed any particular gain such as has been suggested.

Without doubt a great number of Christians were put to death here in all sorts of ways under the pagan Emperors, and a number of small chapels existed all round the arena in their memory. These have now been removed, but it is not generally known that one small one is still carefully preserved.

The games were forbidden by Constantine, the first Christian Emperor, but they were not discontinued until 403 A.D., when an Eastern

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monk named Telemachus was stoned to death in the arena because he leapt into it to stop the games ; and his death at last convinced the people of their wickedness. After this the building gradually fell into decay and the stones were taken away for all sorts of purposes. In the sixteenth century the interior was used for the exhibition of miracle plays like those at Ober-Ammergau, and the later Popes did their utmost to preserve what was left. The enormous buttresses that support the outer wall were erected by Pius VII. and Leo XII.

When Byron and Dickens saw the Colosseum it was overgrown with grass and often gay with the colours of countless wild flowers, but all these have been carefully removed lest they should hasten the decay of the building. Those who are interested in the arrangement of these amphitheatres should read the article in the *Dictionary of Antiquities*, and should also visit the amphitheatre at Verona, in which the seats of the interior are far more perfect than those of the Colosseum, because the building was used for tournaments during the Middle Ages, and also the one at Nîmes, which is however less perfect. The school of the gladiators at Pompeii should also if possible be visited.

CHAPTER VIII.

PAGAN TOMBS AND CEMETERIES.

The Imperial Tombs.—There are still existing in Rome the remains of several of the great Imperial tombs, and a large number of sepulchres of nobles and great men, and the common burying-places of the great crowd of poorer men who could not afford a family sepulchre. The mausoleums of the Christian princes will be described later,¹ but two of the tombs of the early Emperors deserve mention.

The Tomb of Augustus.—The first and perhaps the greatest built his own tomb on the Campus Martius near the Tiber, not far from the modern Corso. It consisted of a circular basement of white marble about 300 feet round and 60 feet in height, and was surmounted by a cone of earth in terraces, planted with beautiful trees, which was thrown open to the public by his order. The interior was filled with numerous chambers, some of which still exist, to contain the members of the Imperial family.

The ashes of Augustus, after his body had been burnt in a ustrinum near by, were laid here in the presence of his wife and successor and an imposing crowd of Roman soldiers and

¹ Pp. 156, 201.

PAGAN TOMBS AND CEMETERIES

nobles. It is impossible to know what were their thoughts, but we cannot doubt that the Emperor himself had died with a consciousness of having done his duty ; he had seriously set himself to grapple with the problems of a world-wide Empire, such questions as the defence of the frontiers, the police of Rome, the depopulation of Italy ; he had not surrounded himself with low-born flatterers, but had entrusted high offices to the great nobles, and had felt no jealousy of victorious generals ; while he lived the legions were still filled with Italians, and the power of the army was kept in its proper subordination to the civil power ; his whole mind and energies were taken up with his task, and at the end of his long and laborious life it is probable that he thought but little of the troubles of his earlier days, through which he had not passed with an unstained reputation.

In the same tomb were deposited the remains of the great Germanicus, of Tiberius, the second Emperor, who in his public policy at least carried out the aims of his predecessor, of the mad Caligula and of Claudius.

The ashes were first disturbed by the Goths in 410, and in the Middle Ages the tomb became a castle of the Colonna family, and in one of the many feuds of those times it was reduced to its present ruinous state. There is at the present time very little to be seen, but it is worth a visit on account of the associations that surround it.

The Tomb of Hadrian.—It was not until

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many years after the death of Augustus that another great mausoleum was erected by the Emperor Hadrian on the banks of the Tiber, across the Pons Ælius, which is now called after the present name of the tomb, the Ponte S. Angelo. From the accession of Vespasian until the death of Marcus Aurelius the Roman world was ruled by a series of eight princes, all of whom with one exception were men of high character, and who devoted all their energies to preserving the Empire from the perils that surrounded it, and the historian Gibbon has pointed to a part of this period as the time in which its inhabitants possessed greater happiness than they have enjoyed at any other period of the world's history. Of these great men Hadrian was by no means the least, and his whole life was spent in going to and fro along the frontiers of his dominions. As far as we can see there was no precaution that he did not take that was likely to strengthen the Empire. His abandonment of Trajan's conquests in Parthia is justified by the result, for the real peril was on the northern frontier. He re-organised the army and enforced strict discipline, while he did all in his power by reducing taxation and protecting the rights of property to rear citizens to fill its ranks ; nor is it true to say that he had no care for freedom : as far as it was possible in those days he treated the Senate with honour and respect, and encouraged the Roman nobles to serve the State abroad and to fill the great offices in Rome.



THE TOMB OF HADRIAN



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The Civil Service was no longer filled with released slaves but with men of position, and the local life of the provincial cities was carefully fostered ; though he was reluctant to impose fresh taxation, no prince has left more useful and ornamental works behind him in Rome and the provincial towns ; the Roman wall in Northumberland and the glorious dome of the Pantheon both testify to his watchfulness and good taste.

His last great service to his country was the choice of a worthy successor, and the closing days of his life were afflicted by bodily pain and perhaps mental distress. In his last hours he composed some pathetic verses, which the historian Merivale has thus translated :—

Soul of mine, pretty one, fitting one ;
Guest and partner of my clay
Whither wilt thou hie away—
Pallid one, rigid one, naked one—
Never to play again, never to play.

No bust in the galleries of Rome is better worth our notice than that of Hadrian.

This famous tomb was originally a round circular building erected upon a larger square base which was ornamented at the corners with pilasters and entirely covered with a facing of white marble. Above the rotunda was a cone of earth, as in the mausoleum of Augustus, planted with beautiful trees and shrubs. The square base was ornamented at the corners with equestrian statues, and the circular part with pillars, between which were statues of various kinds.

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Some writers think that there were two circular storeys, one over the other, beneath the earth, but this is not certain. The tomb is built of blocks of stone surrounding a mass of concrete, within which is the tomb chamber, which is reached by an inclined path from the entrance facing the river.

The central room was occupied by the sarcophagus of Hadrian, the porphyry lid of which is said to be used as a font in the baptistery of S. Peter's. Some of the other rooms here were made in later times for the storing of provisions. The tomb, in fact, became a fortress as early as the time of Honorius, and during the siege of the Goths in 537 A.D. the statues were hurled down upon the foe by the defenders. During the Middle Ages it was surrounded with towers and bastions, and was for many years the stronghold of the mediæval Popes, and the scene of the murder of at least two of them. The great battlements that we now see were built by Bernini in 1630, but before that the castle had often saved the Popes from their enemies, especially at the time of the sack of Rome by Bourbon's troops, when Clement VII. fled thither from S. Peter's, through the famous covered passage, followed by a solitary priest, who held his long train.

The angel at the top, from which the tomb gets its present name, is the successor of four or five others, the first of which is said to have been placed there by Gregory the Great, who saw a vision of S. Michael sheathing his sword as he

PAGAN TOMBS AND CEMETERIES

stood on the tomb, and which the Pope regarded as a sign that the plague which then desolated Rome would cease, as in fact it did.

The beautiful set of apartments above the battlements were erected by Paul III., and are some of the prettiest in Rome. The carved ceilings of wood and the little bathroom are models of good taste. The top of one of the great pilasters at the corners of the base may be seen in the Museo delle Terme, and a great head of Hadrian in the rotunda of the Vatican no doubt came from here, but it is uncertain whether the bronze fir cone now in the courtyard of the Vatican was ever really on the top of the mausoleum.

Roman Funerals.—In the earliest times the Romans used to bury as well as burn their dead, but as time went on it became the custom generally to burn the body, and afterwards collect the ashes in an urn, which was placed in the sepulchre. A few great families kept up the old custom of burying, and among these was the great house of the Scipios. Their family sepulchre still remains near the Porta S. Sebastiano, inside the walls, consisting of underground chambers built in the rock, in what appear to have once been quarries. The entrance consists of a rude arch upon peperino columns, and was probably once carved with marble or stucco. The slabs of marble inside, with inscriptions, are not original, but rather inaccurate copies of the old ones.

A beautifully carved sarcophagus, in which

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was the body of L. Cornelius Scipio Barbatus, who distinguished himself in the Samnite war, is still preserved in the Vatican Sculpture Gallery.

Most of the noble and wealthy families, however, preferred to burn their dead, and were content to construct monuments, within which the ashes are deposited. The favourite place for this was along the side of the great roads outside the walls, because burial of any kind was forbidden within the city. The best example of this Roman custom is the street of tombs at Pompeii, where the monuments have been preserved from mutilation by the ashes that covered them, and which is, perhaps, the most fascinating part of that wonderful picture of ancient life. The Appian Way, however, outside the gate is equally picturesque, though the tombs are sadly ruined by time and the injuries of men. The road has now been freed from the deposits that concealed its ancient pavement, and a walk along it for some miles will bring before us some of the most interesting tombs that remain in Rome. This great road, which led from the Porta Capena, near S. Gregorio, in the wall of Servius, to Capua, was constructed by Appius Claudius in 312 B.C., who paved it with stones that he brought from a distance, on account of their hardness, and constructed it with such skill that it was as good as new when Procopius traversed it in 537 A.D. The stones fitted in to one another so exactly that they seemed to have grown together, and

PAGAN TOMBS AND CEMETERIES

two waggons could pass one another along its whole course. Along this road we can easily picture to ourselves the long funeral processions passing to the tombs of their ancestors. In front went the flute players, and behind them the mourners, with whom sometimes jesters were mingled. Next followed a train of men wearing wax masks, to represent the ancestors of the deceased, and perhaps carrying tablets inscribed with his exploits. After this came the corpse, on an ivory litter, followed by the kinsmen of the deceased, and his freedmen, all clad in black in early times, but under the Emperors in white garments. The procession went first to the Forum, where the litter was set down, and a short address was made by one of the relatives. Then it went through the city gate to the place of burial, near which, as a rule, the corpse was burnt in a sacred enclosure, which was called an *ustrinum*, one of which may still be seen on the Appian Way five and a half miles from the gate. The tomb usually consisted of a chamber in which the funeral feasts were held, and in which the ashes of the dead were deposited in urns. There were often several rooms, and the ceilings were in many cases ornamented with carving, and the walls with frescoes. The urns were usually very finely executed in marble, and were generally placed in niches. Besides the ashes, they often contained rings and other valuable possessions of the deceased. Many of the tombs were built in imitation of temples, or as mounds with flowers on the top, while others were sur-

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mounted by round masses of brick or stone, and many had busts of those buried outside, or columns like those placed in English cemeteries fifty years ago.

The Tombs on the Appian Way.—A few minutes after passing the Porta S. Sebastiano we reach a small church on the left called “Domine Quo Vadis,” from the tradition that S. Peter, when flying from death, met our Lord, and asked Him this question, to which He replied that He came to be crucified again, and that S. Peter was so ashamed that he returned to face his persecutors.

Near here a path runs to the left along the stream to the Valle della Caffarella, in which is a very curious tomb of ornamented brick, which shows how skilfully the Romans could work in that material, and how well terra-cotta can be combined with it. A little further on is the temple of Ceres, which was turned into a church by the Christians, and decorated with frescoes in honour of Pope Urbanus, in the eleventh century. Near this is the grotto of Egeria, and a group of ilexes on the site of an old group sacred to the goddess.

But to return to the Via Appia, which is at this part uninteresting until we come to the entrance to the catacomb of Callixtus on the right. This, and the catacomb of Prætextatus opposite, as well as that of Nereus, we should pass on our first visit to the road, and also the Jewish catacombs and the church of S. Sebastiano on the left, and go on to the Circus of



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VIA APPIA.



PAGAN TOMBS AND CEMETERIES

Maxentius, which has already been described (p. 136).

A little further on we reach the tomb of Cæcilia Metella, the wife of the son of Crassus, the rival of Pompey and Cæsar. "It consists of a bold square basement about 100 feet square, which was originally ornamented in some manner not now intelligible. From this rose a circular tower about 94 feet in diameter, of very bold masonry, surmounted by a frieze of ox skulls, with wreaths joining them, and a well profiled cornice. Two or three courses of masonry above this seem to have belonged to the original work, and above this almost certainly in the original design rose a conical roof, which has perished. The tower having been used as a fortress in the Middle Ages, battlements have been added to supply the place of the roof, and it has been otherwise disfigured, so as to detract much from its beauty as now seen. Still we have no tomb of the same importance so perfect, nor one which enables us to connect the Roman tombs so nearly with the Etruscan" (Ferguson, vol. i., p. 343).

The marble coating is said to have been used by Urban VIII. for the fountain of Trevi near the Quirinal. Pope Sextus V., who destroyed so many ancient remains, wished to remove this also, and the proprietors of the land on which it stood were quite ready to sell it, but the Municipal Council of Rome succeeded in saving it, though in other cases they were less successful. The bodies within these tombs were so

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carefully concealed that in many cases they have only been discovered within the last few centuries.

The vault inside this tomb was discovered in 1540, and the fine marble sarcophagus that was within is supposed to be the one preserved in the court of the Palazzo Farnese.

This tomb is also interesting because the circular churches and baptisteries of the early Christians are developments of the same kind of architecture.

At this point, as Mr. Hare points out (whose description of this road is one of the very best that I have seen), the real beauty of the Via Appia begins. The view of the hills is splendid, and as far as the eye can reach we see the great plain of the Campagna covered with tombs and old ruins of villas and castles, and here and there the long lines of the ancient aqueducts. When the later Emperors were unable to defend the open country outside the walls, the numerous villas and parks of the wealthy Romans were deserted. Some of the houses were burnt, and the trees were cut down, but most simply fell into ruin, and the débris covered the beautiful statues and mosaic pavements, some of which have still escaped the hands of the Renaissance plunderers. When the aqueducts were cut off by the Goths in 527 no doubt the floods that must have poured over the plain ruined the cultivated ground, which has become the home of malaria and a few wretched shepherds and their dogs.

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The road beyond the tomb of Cæcilia was thickly studded with tombs on each side and a very few of the sculptures are still preserved on the spot. The villa of Seneca stood somewhere near where he put himself to death by Nero's order. Hannibal came as far as this on his march to Rome in the hope of bringing back the armies besieging Capua to defend their homes.

Nearly four miles from the Porta S. Sebastiano are the ruins that are called *Roma Vecchia*, once a great villa of the Quintilii, at which Commodus often stopped. The remains of the brickwork show clearly the inferiority of the work to that of the earlier times that may be seen in the Imperial palaces on the Palatine. A number of pretty mosaics that were found here are preserved in the Vatican. It was at this villa that Commodus was beset by a crowd of Romans who came out from Rome as the mob of Paris poured out to attack Louis XVI. at Versailles.

The Pretorian Guards dispersed them, but they were outnumbered by the City Guard who sympathised with the people like the National Guard of Paris, and if Commodus had not surrendered his unpopular favourite, he would have lost his throne at this time.

Beyond this there are numerous tombs, many of which are worth seeing, and about six miles from the gate near the Casale Rotondo, which was used as a fortress in the Middle Ages and may have been the tomb of a great noble, a field path on the left leads into the *Via*

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Appia Nuova, by which we may return to the town through the Porta S. Giovanni. This road crosses the old Via Latina, by the side of which are some tombs that are well worth seeing on account of their fine brick columns and of the frescoes with which they are decorated. They are near the third milestone of the Via Latina, but it is best to drive from the Porta S. Giovanni, as they are not easy to find.

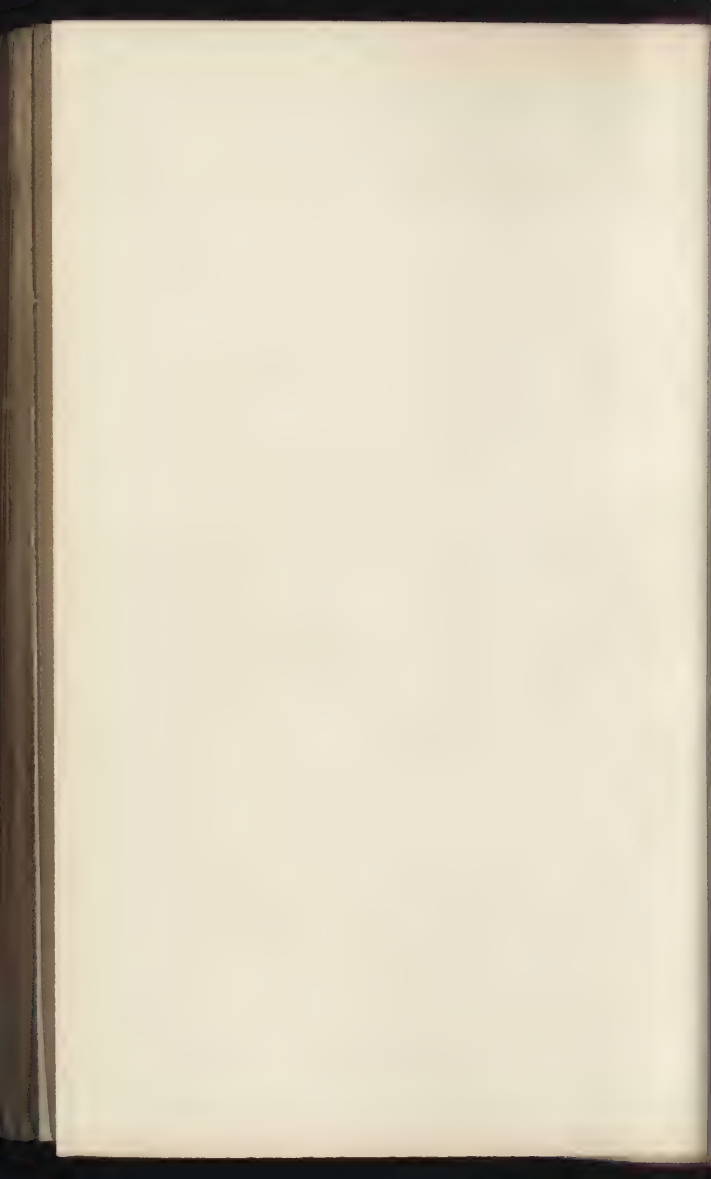
The Torre Pignattara.—About a mile and a half from the Porta Maggiore is the mausoleum of Helena, mother of Constantine, which is called the Torre Pignattara, on account of the earthenware vases used in the vault to lessen its weight. It is merely a circular tower in two storeys and has very little interest, except that which lies in its antiquity. The sarcophagus of Helena has been removed to the Vatican Museum. (The Torre dei Schiavi about five miles further on is not a tomb, but an old palace of the Emperor Gordian.)

The Baker's Tomb.—The baker's tomb near the Porta Maggiore has already been mentioned, and it is important as showing the importance of the tradesmen of Rome under the Empire; tombs of bootmakers and other tradesmen have been discovered and may be seen in the museums testifying to the existence to some extent of a middle class, at any rate under the earlier Emperors. So numerous have been the tombs that have been found round Rome, while we know that infinitely more have been destroyed, that it has been calculated that Rome was



•THE•TOMB•OF•SAINT•HELENA•

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surrounded by a girdle of at least 300,000 tombs.

All these were of course the graves of men who were comparatively well off; the poorer classes did not aspire to tombs of their own, but were content to obtain a niche in a large building that was called a columbarium.

Burial Places of the Middle and Lower Classes.—This was usually a square or oblong building whose sides were pierced with small cells or niches of much the same shape as the recesses made for doves in a dovecot, and within which were placed jars like flower-pots containing the ashes of the deceased. These buildings belonged either to associations of tradesmen or clubs, or sometimes to companies who built them as a speculation and sold the places to those who wished to make use of them. They are very skilfully arranged so as to get as much room as possible and to avoid the expense of buying much land, and were used for dependents and slaves although men of a higher class like the librarian of Apollo's temple on the Palatine were sometimes buried in this way.

The names of the deceased were painted or engraved on marble tablets under or above the niches, and the walls were often covered with all kinds of pictures.

There are several columbaria near the tomb of the Scipios in the Via di Porta S. Sebastiano. One close to the chapel of S. Giovanni is called the columbarium of Hylas, and has been elaborately decorated with pictures of mytho-

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logical subjects. At No. 13 there are three others, and it is evident that a large cemetery was situated here, for a great number of monuments have been found and destroyed, and also numerous precious objects, rings and precious stones and little statues have been taken from them at various times as well as many hundred urns of terra-cotta and alabaster. Of the columbaria still existing the first consists of a square room with a great pillar in the centre that supports the roof; the walls are covered with frescoes and inscriptions of the time of Tiberius. The second, which belonged to a company, is not very interesting, but the third is much larger than is usual and has instead of pigeon-holes a number of large recesses, so that it is probable that bodies were placed here in stone coffins, and not previously burnt, but the skulls that are there now belong to bodies that were thrown in after the columbarium was really full, in the later days when it was no longer possible to erect fresh burial-places.

The roof also is worth notice, as it has two arches thrown across it as was afterwards done across the nave of some of the early churches.

There are also some very beautiful tomb chambers in the Pamphili Gardens just outside the Porta S. Pancrazio. This beautiful park is one of the finest in the world and is well worth a visit on its own account alone.

When past the Casino you have a good view of S. Peter's and you see the real beauty of the great dome. There is a splendid avenue of arched

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trees with dark overhanging branches, and the house is a very interesting Renaissance building, which has statues or niches by the side of the windows and others standing on the parapets. There is a circular wall inside the gardens with stone figures worked in panels on the wall, but concealed in May with a blaze of rhododendrons. There are fountains, too, elsewhere and little tiny beds of flowers. Under the trees before you can get to the house are several columbaria: I went down into one of these through the window and found it almost untouched. The little pigeon-holes had *concave* lids of earthenware inside, which I lifted up and found a round hole in which the ashes were placed. Between the rows of holes on the outside walls were blank spaces broader than the holes covered with frescoes. There were animals and birds and two negro boys playing near a crocodile, and ducks and peacocks and men fighting with bows and arrows.

In some places were colonnades or simple leaves with flowers. I saw two curious little mice and a basket of fruit in one place and a bird pecking at it and a rabbit eating grapes; these were simple enough, but elsewhere elaborate scenes from life were painted. The passages inside are all made as narrow as possible to give as much room for the ashes as can be done, and for the same reason a sort of buttress was erected in the centre with holes on each side. Everything shows that the Romans took a cheerful view of death, and

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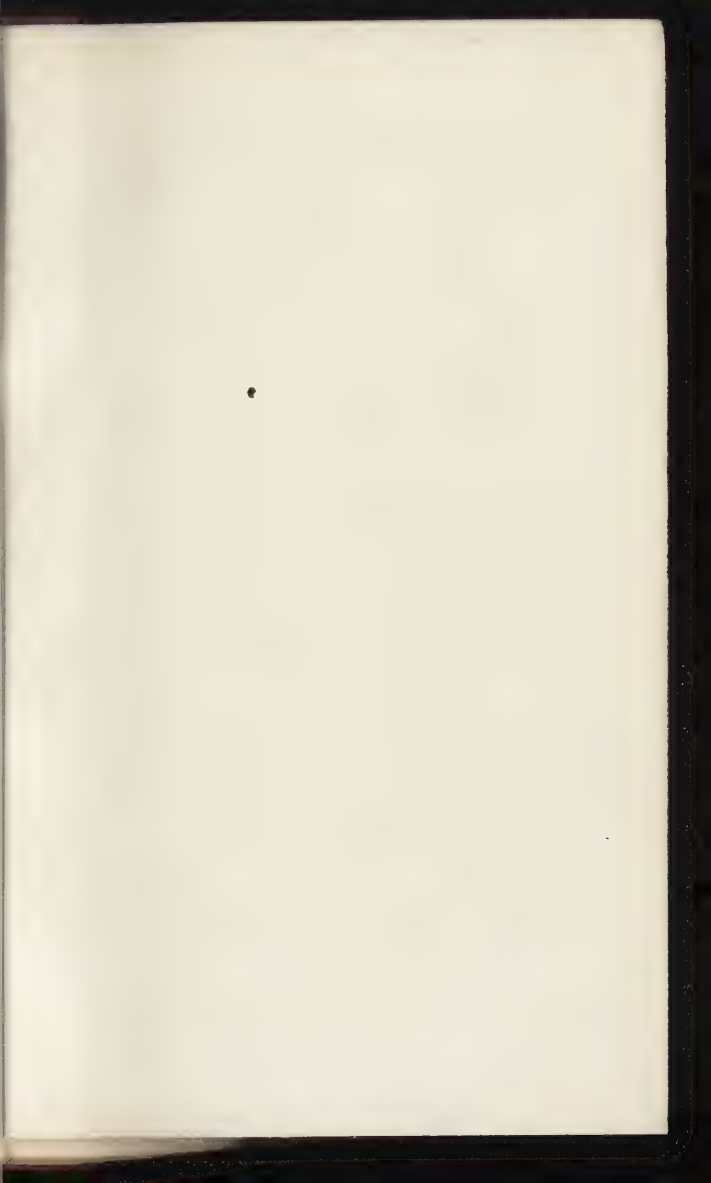
there is an entire absence of mournful emblems in their buildings.

We do not know exactly what became of the bodies of slaves and the very poor. In early times they were deposited in great pits in the waste land on the Esquiline near the remains of the agger of Servius, but these became so disgusting and unhealthy that Augustus had them covered with a thick layer of earth and made into a public park.

The curious hall called the Auditorio di Mecenate (Via Merulana) was built in these gardens, and when some of the new roads were being made here some of the old pits were dug open and testified to the unhealthy state of the old cemetery.

This great improvement was made by the advice of Maecenas, and his friend Horace has celebrated it in the *Satires*, I., VIII., 14.¹

¹ A very interesting collection of coffins and urns as well as reliefs from the tombs in the Via Latina and elsewhere may be seen in the Museo Profano in the Lateran.





INTERIOR OF A CATACOMB

CHAPTER IX.

CHRISTIAN CEMETERIES.

Early Christian Tombs.—It has already been shown that certain noble families in Rome continued all through her history to use the method of burying the dead instead of burning the corpse, and it was most natural that the early Christians, remembering that our Lord had been laid in a tomb, should have adopted this custom, and never, as far as we know, the more usual practice of cremation. The doctrine also of the resurrection of the body, as it was then understood, made any other custom impossible to the believer.

The earliest Christian tombs, such as those of Pope Cornelius and of S. Domitilla, differ very little from the pagan tombs of the same date, and were certainly built without any attempt at concealment. All family tombs, whatever the religion of the owners, were under the protection of the law, and any one who disturbed them in any way was severely punished. There was nothing secret about the construction of any tomb, and the law was most careful in seeing that the rights of neighbouring landowners were not infringed. Indeed, in

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the first two centuries after Christ there was no real persecution of the Christian faith, and the sepulchres were openly constructed both below and above ground with perfect impunity.

At first all the tombs were made on the land of private persons, such as Callixtus and Domitilla, who often allowed their fellow Christians to be buried in their vaults, and there is no reason to think that they were used for concealment or for anything else than the services and festivals that were held in connection with the dead. Later on, about the third century, it is possible that the Christian Church in some way possessed burial-places as a corporation, although, as it was not recognised by the law, it is difficult to see how this could be done. On the whole it seems probable that the old view that the Church held these cemeteries, when they ceased to be in private hands as a burial society, is the correct one. Such societies, as has been said (p. 157), were common among the poorer Romans, who were obliged to combine in order to provide a common place of burial, usually called a columbarium, for their dead. Such guilds were tolerated by the Emperors, although as a rule they had a great aversion to all clubs and the like, fearing that they might become political societies. *De Rossi*, the great writer on Christian tombs in Rome, considers that the customs of these burial societies resembled very closely those of the Christians, and his

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opinion is of very great value, although later writers consider there are difficulties in the way.

The word *catacombs* is very commonly used of these tombs, although properly speaking it was applied to one cemetery only, that on the Appian Way near S. Sebastiano, which was called "Ad Catacumbas," and not to the burial-places generally. The earliest of the Christian tombs greatly resemble the pagan ones of the same date, as was naturally to be expected, and those of the first two centuries are excellently built, and display great taste and skill in the details, while the later tombs are executed in the debased style that then prevailed. The pagan tombs were, as a rule, built for a single family only, so that they were of small size compared with the catacombs, and as the tomb was usually closed at once, the shelves on which the bodies rested were left open, while those in the catacombs were sealed up, because the galleries were continually visited by the faithful.

The reason why the galleries in most of the catacombs are so narrow and so crowded with niches for the dead, and why so many passages seem to cross one another, so that the visitor can hardly avoid a feeling of dread lest the light should go out or the guide desert him, is simply that the room was limited, because the law was very strict about going beneath roads or private property and in many cases also two or three catacombs have been united into one,

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which has greatly increased the complexity of the places. The galleries cross one another again and again at different lines wherever the soil permits, and are so numerous that although the catacombs do not extend more than a mile or two from Rome the united length of all would be as long as Italy herself.

Opening out of the narrow corridors there are often found little rooms of various shapes, which were used as family tombs, and are generally called *cubicula*. Some of these, though all were used for burial, were certainly intended for public worship. The earliest and most interesting of these is the Cappella Greca in the catacomb of S. Priscilla. This has a little apse, and a kind of transept used as a stone bench for the worshippers. Services were held here on the anniversaries of deaths, and the Holy Communion was administered often at an altar cut in the living rock. These chapels are often ornamented with frescoes, and in the case of the earlier chapels with beautiful paintings in stucco. It is easy to imagine the solemnity of these services in times of danger, when no believer knew how soon his turn might come to be carried in the dim light to the niche appointed for him.

As the construction of these tombs required great skill it was natural that those who undertook the work should be much respected, and in fact the "fossores," as the excavators were called, came to be regarded as a lower kind of clergy, and after the time of Constan-

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tine they even had the general control of the cemeteries.

The entrances of the earliest catacombs were in the open road, and could be seen by any one, such as the entrance to the cemetery of *S. Domitilla* (SS. Nereus and Achilleus) on the Via delle Sette Chiese near the Appian Way. The front itself is of ornamented brick decorated with terra-cotta, and the gallery inside is fine and tastefully decorated in the fine style of the early period. The recesses in the walls are large and evidently intended for stone coffins, and there are long inscriptions as in the pagan tombs, so that it is quite clear that a Christian of a noble family like Domitilla, who was a relation of Vespasian, was buried in the same way as any other noble, and was equally under the protection of the law.

It was in the third century that the Christians founded the great catacomb of *S. Callixtus*, which, although it was at first in private hands, soon came under the control of the Church as a whole, whether or not they acted as a burial society in the eye of the law. About the middle of the century the Emperor Decius withdrew the catacombs from the protection of the law, but ten years later this decree was repealed. Yet the feeling of security within the tomb chambers had gone, and many of the saints were killed by their persecutors. The times indeed were evil, and in 303 the first really severe persecution burst upon the Church by order of Diocletian. This

is why no churches used by the Christians in very early times have survived, so that it is necessary to go to the tombs to find the first examples of Christian art. Although there may be some exaggeration in the accounts that have come down to us, there is no reason to doubt that a very large number of believers were put to death, and that their bones were often deposited in these tombs.

A number of higher officials and converts of noble family died very painful deaths, refusing the entreaties of their relations and friends who wished them to submit. Many of the early Popes suffered martyrdom, and it was at this time that the secret entrances of the catacombs, often leading into old sand pits, were made in order to visit the tombs without being observed.

No one who has read the accounts of the state of morality in these days and of the general decay of the unselfish motives, or who has reflected on the horrible cruelty of the exhibitions in the arena that attracted such vast crowds of spectators, can doubt the services bestowed upon the Roman world by the Christian religion, but a word may be said about the curious fact that the worst persecutions took place under an Emperor who was not a bad ruler, and under whom the Empire had a rest at least from war and invasion. There can be no doubt that in their disgust at the moral state of mankind, and their expectation of the immediate coming of our Lord to judge the

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world, the best among the Christians were inclined to withdraw altogether from worldly affairs, and it is certain that the great Emperors, whose minds were now filled with the cares of office, while the barbarians thundered at the gate, must have regarded this feeling as merely selfishness and lack of patriotism. The letters of some of the senators a little later show how ardently the better minds among them felt the decay of the grandeur of Rome, and that in many cases not unnaturally they attributed her disasters to the wrath of the neglected gods who had protected her in the past.

After peace was restored to the Church the catacombs were more thoroughly organised and each cemetery was dependent on some particular parish within the walls. It became customary to honour the more important martyrs by constructing a basilica or church over their tombs, which were carefully retained in the original place, while the less important ones near were cut away to make room for the building. A good example of this may be seen in the *S. Agnese Fuori*, where it was necessary to sink the church to a considerable depth. The passages were also better lighted, and inscriptions were put up by Pope Damasus, which are still in existence at *S. Callixtus* and elsewhere, to guide the numerous pilgrims who now came to visit the tombs of the saints, and who have left so many interesting scribblings on the walls of the catacombs. The Pope himself was buried above the cemetery, because, as his

tablet says, "I fear to disturb the sacred ashes of the saints". Bodies were still placed in these vaults throughout the first century, but burial was no longer forbidden inside the walls, and after the capture of Rome by Alaric, in 410, they were no longer used. They were still visited by pilgrims, and services were held in the chapels, but as time went on the insecurity of the country round Rome first led to the removal of many of the tombs to the churches within the walls, and somewhat later to the complete desertion of the catacombs. Many of the entrances were filled up and covered with heaps of refuse, and from the ninth century until the sixteenth they may be said to have been completely unknown, and many of the most interesting remains have only been discovered within the last fifty years.

The Catacomb of S. Priscilla.—The visitor will probably not have time to see more than a few of the more important catacombs, and it is better to give more time to these than to hurry through a greater number. The cemetery of *S. Priscilla* on the Via Salaria, about two miles from the gate, is one of the oldest, and is supposed to have been the private property of the family of Pudens, who is mentioned by S. Paul, and Priscilla and Aquila, who were his companions, were buried here. It possesses the extremely interesting room called the Cappella Greca, with its fine fresco of the feast of the Eucharist, and after the catacomb of Callixtus was closed in the persecution of

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Diocletian, it was used as the burying-place of the Popes, over whose tombs is a very interesting inscription by Pope Damasus. It contains what is perhaps the oldest known picture of the Madonna, though it is not quite certain that the woman with the child is really the Virgin Mary—the picture is, in any case, a very old one.

The catacombs on the Via Appia can easily be visited together, and are in every way the most complete. That of S. Prætextatus, almost opposite the catacomb of Callixtus, is also one of the oldest, and shows the same evidence of good taste and fine classical work in its decorations as the other remains of the first centuries of the Christian era. A chapel within it has a beautifully painted roof, with birds and animals most naturally drawn, representing the seasons of the year. De Rossi discovered the tomb of S. Januarius the martyr here, who died in 162 A.D., which would appear to show that the catacomb must have existed then, and probably many years before.

S. Callixtus.—The catacomb of *S. Callixtus* deserves a prolonged study, because it contains some of the earliest and also some of the most important of the tombs. It is in fact not one catacomb only, but a collection of several quite independent burial-places, that were afterwards connected by passages. About a mile from the *Porta S. Sebastiano* there is a doorway, which is described as the cemetery of S. Callixtus. The monk who acts as guide will generally take us first

of all to the chamber in which the early Popes were buried, and although this is not the oldest part of the cemetery it is the most interesting. Several gravestones have been discovered that contain the names of S. Anteros and S. Fabian, and other early Popes of the third century, and they are now found upon the wall. The names are written in Greek, which was in those days the official language of the Church. Pope Urban II. was probably put to death here by order of the Emperor in 258. This room was used as a chapel, and possessed an altar against the wall and a low railing round it, within which the priest stood to administer the sacrament to the worshippers, who stood outside. It is probable that in the chapels of earlier date the priest and the others present all sat together at a wooden table, that was carried in, to break bread, as they may be seen doing in a fresco in the Cappella Greca in the catacomb of Priscilla. This custom had to be abandoned on account of the number of those who came, and it was then that an elevated chair was erected for the Bishop. These chapels, however, could never have been used for general services in times of danger, as they are far too small, and it would not be possible for a large number to remain long in the catacombs on account of the want of air.

We pass through a narrow doorway in the side of the Papal chapel to the crypt of S. Cecilia, who is said to have been put to death with horrible cruelty in her own palace about

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177 A.D., and then to have been removed here for burial. Pope Paschal I. in 817 removed her body, which lay in a cypress coffin in rich garments as fresh as when she died, to the church of S. Cecilia in Trastevere. Here it was found during some repairs at the very end of the sixteenth century, in the marble coffin in which Paschal had placed it. The body lay in the attitude in which she had died, which had never been disturbed, and had still preserved all its grace and beauty uncorrupt. Before it was again covered, the cardinal who had found it caused a statue to be made by Maderna, which has copied exactly the graceful attitude in which she was found.

The facts in this story are probably correct, and in many respects have been verified by recent discoveries, and the preservation of the body may easily be explained by natural causes, and in any case it has deeply impressed many thousands of devout Christians in every age. The crypt has windows opening to the air above, and was certainly a sort of memorial chapel, and is furnished with niches for the bodies ; there is a painting of S. Cecilia, which is probably of the seventh century, and some others of the same date. The rooms near are called sacrament chapels, because they contain representations of the Eucharist on their walls, but they are only ordinary family tombs. Some interesting examples may be seen of the use of the symbolic fish and bread, as well as some early representa-

tions of our Lord. There are two chambers near that of S. Cecilia which are probably the crypts of other Popes, perhaps of Eusebius, a Bishop who was exiled by Maxentius.

We shortly enter a number of galleries which lead us to the catacomb of Lucina, which was originally quite distinct from that of Callixtus ; the galleries themselves are of later date than either cemetery, and are constructed very carefully and with much skill, as the levels of the two cemeteries are not the same. The crypt in this cemetery of Pope Cornelius is very interesting because he belonged to the noble family of Scipio, and his epithet alone is written in Latin, though those of the other Bishops of the earlier times are in Greek. A curious round pillar stands near the tomb of Cornelius, made of brick covered with cement, and the tomb itself does not resemble those in the catacombs, but is rather like those in the tombs of the Scipios, as is natural, and is probably older than the former. The body, no doubt, was originally placed in a stone sarcophagus, and it now rests in a French grave side by side with the bones of his friend S. Cyprian, Bishop of Carthage.

S. Sebastiano.—The *Catacomb of S. Sebastiano* on the same road, a little further on, was, as has been said, the only one known in the Middle Ages, but there is little to see in it, though the church itself is interesting because it shows the way in which a basilica was built over the tomb of a martyr without disturbing his bones, even if a number of other tombs had

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to be sacrificed. It contains a footprint in stone that was believed to be that of Christ, and a fine statue of S. Sebastian designed by Bernini. The Via delle Sette Chiese, just before the church, leads into the Via Ardeatina, in which is situated the *Catacomb of Domitilla* which has already been mentioned in this chapter.

Domitilla herself, who was a niece of Domitian, was sent into exile by the Emperor, while her husband was put to death. A large basilica was also built over her tomb, which was discovered a few years ago, and the pavement was sunk to the level of her grave. A relief was found here representing the martyrdom of her servant, Acilleus, perhaps the earliest instance of such a representation in art. In the apse of this church Gregory the Great deplored in a sermon the state of Italy in his days, deserted by its Emperor and exposed to the devastation of the barbarians (*cf. Lanciani, Pagan and Christian Rome*, p. 344). Though there are many other catacombs that a student will not neglect, the few that have been mentioned will give a clear idea of the tombs and also of early Christian art.

Christian Decorations and Symbols.—It is impossible to say more than a few words about the decorations of the catacombs, interesting as they are, but any one who wishes to know more should read the very clear account of Mr. Lowrie.¹ It has been said that the style

¹ *Christian Art and Archæology* (Macmillan).

of the earlier paintings closely resembled those of the ordinary houses and tombs in Rome, and in the earliest time we find hardly any pictures of religious scenes in the catacombs, but simple, bright little arabesques of birds and flowers as we see in the early mosaics of S. Costanza. These may be seen in particular on the walls of the rooms of the catacomb of S. Domitilla, which is one of the earliest, and in many ways they remind us of the frescoes in the house of Germanicus and of those at Pompeii. There are some very pretty and natural pictures of birds and of some trees, though here and there additions have been made of a later date, when artists had lost their old skill.

A little later, however, in the second century, the frescoes begin to have a Christian character, and while still possessing some of the forms and emblems of classical art, they represent many of the scenes and characters in the Bible. These are generally chosen from those that represent the power of God to deliver from sin and death, which they feel to be specially suitable to the chamber of the dead. It is also probable that as time went on the shops in Rome that supplied the workers and the carving on stone kept a stock of the designs that were as a rule popular, and thus these were ordered again and again.

Such scenes as the raising of Lazarus, Daniel in the lions' den, the visit of the Magi, are very common, and a very favourite device was the history of Jonah, which is usually represented in three scenes. In the first, as may be seen in

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the catacomb of Callixtus, Jonah is cast out of the ship, not to a fish, but to a sort of dragon, which was no doubt suggested by classical designs. In the second, the same monster is casting him out of his mouth ; and in the third he is lying still naked under the gourd.

The figure of our Lord is often found, but no attempt is made to make it a portrait, if, indeed, any copy of his features ever existed. It is claimed that the picture in the crypt of Cecilia is the oldest representation of our Saviour that exists. The face is a sad and impressive one, and lacks that suggestion of weakness that is so common in the Renaissance paintings, but we cannot say if it really resembled him in any way. He is often represented as a young, bright shepherd, carrying a sheep on his shoulders, as may be seen in the statue in the Lateran, which came from the same catacomb.

The men who were employed to paint the catacombs very naturally made use of the more beautiful pagan scenes, and so Christ is often portrayed as the poet Orpheus.

Besides the pictures suggested by the Bible narratives, there are a number of others that have an allegorical meaning. The later classical tombs often use the figures of birds and animals—the peacock, dolphin—as emblems, and the Christians took many of these from them, but they had also others of their own. The commonest, perhaps, is the sacred fish, which became a favourite because the five letters of the

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Greek word meaning fish (ΙΧΘΥΣ) were also the initial letters of the words describing the titles of our Lord (Ιησοῦς Χριστός Θεοῦ Υἱός Σωτήρ).

The fish by itself, or with bread, is Jesus Christ, and when people are seen seated at a table on which are placed bread and fish, we see a picture of the feast of the Eucharist. The miracles of feeding the multitudes are often suggested by placing baskets near the table filled with fragments that remained, and there are also often two fish and five loaves on the table.

There are several rooms in the catacomb of Callixtus that are covered with frescoes of the sacraments of baptism and the Eucharist ; sometimes there are seven baskets, Christ is being baptized in Jordan, or baptism is represented by the water that Moses struck from the rock.

The soul of the departed is very often represented by a praying figure standing with outstretched hands, generally called an "Orans," and characters from Scripture are often painted in this attitude. There are a number of these in all the catacombs, and it is interesting to see the variety of the dress, which varies according to the date of the picture, and those of earliest date may be known from their wearing the classical "palla," or long cloak, in which the body is wrapped.

It is curious to notice that the symbol of the Cross is never used in the catacombs, and the earliest instance of its employment in a great religious picture is in the mosaics in the apse of

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S. Pudentiana. It is probable that the Christians felt a dislike to using an emblem that was still employed for the execution of criminals, and it is worth noticing that the sketch discovered on the Palatine deriding the Christians has a cross upon it. Direct representations of scenes of martyrdom such as those in the paintings of *S. Stefano Rotondo* are also never found, and the feeling of sympathy that the Christians must have felt for those who suffered must be traced in the numerous pictures of Daniel in the lions' den, and of other saints in various perils.

The subject of early Christian art is a most interesting one, and deserves a far longer description than it is possible to give here.

CHAPTER X.

EARLY BASILICAN CHURCHES.

Early Christian Churches.—The earliest churches in Italy, those in Ravenna and a few of the oldest in Rome, consist of a nave and two aisles separated by long rows of columns which have often been taken from an ancient temple, with a circular apse at one end which is divided from the nave by an arch and which is generally ornamented by beautiful mosaic pictures. The idea of dividing the church into nave and aisles by rows of columns was not a new one; the division is found in several Greek temples, and may be seen at Bassae in the Morea, and there is also a row of columns in the cella of a temple at Pestum.

The altar probably stood originally in the nave, as it does at Apollinare in Classe near Ravenna, and afterwards just under the great arch. There is a seat running round the apse for the clergy and in the centre an Episcopal chair which was often taken from some pagan building. This arrangement is so extremely like that of the ancient basilicas, where the prætor sat in the apse to administer justice and where the altar stood in the central hall,

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that it has been generally supposed that the early Christians built their churches in imitation of these basilicas. It is also probable that some of the earliest places of worship were very like ordinary private houses, where the Christians naturally met in the Apostles' time, and the early church lately discovered near the Forum appears to resemble in many respects the atrium or reception-hall of a Roman house. The arrangement of the nave separated from the aisles by two rows of columns is not unlike that of the atrium surrounded by pillars when a covering has been added to protect the worshippers from the wet. The one thing that is certain is that there was no real break in the history of art at the beginning of the Christian era. All the early churches that we find at Ravenna or Rome were imitations or developments of pagan buildings. The circular apse that is so common may be seen in the halls of the great baths and in the Imperial palaces on the Palatine. The courtyard in front of the church that is still found at S. Clemente and S. Ambrogio at Milan, as well as S. Prassede and a few other churches, probably only represents the open space that existed in front of all the old basilicas. The custom of raising the part of the church opposite the entrance so as to form a sort of low platform in front of the apse is found in the basilica still existing at Treves in Germany, and may be traced elsewhere. The circular churches that are found in some places, such as S. Vitale at Ravenna and the

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baptisteries at Rome and Pisa, as well as the church of S. Stefano Rotondo, are an imitation of the Pantheon or of the building called Minerva Medica or of the great circular tombs like that of Cæcilia Metella.

It would seem at first that there was not so marked a separation between clergy and laity as was the case later, but first the apse was railed off and then the whole of the raised portion of the church was separated from the rest and devoted to the clergy, and finally a choir was erected in the central part of the nave, next to the raised end, and in this were placed the ambones or pulpits from which the Scriptures were read. A very beautiful example of this may be seen in S. Clemente, where the various articles have been removed from the earlier church, though perhaps their arrangement has been slightly altered. There was usually an entrance built open to the air before the church, or if there was not room an open porch extending along the whole front as at S. Lorenzo Fuori.

The long rows of marble columns are extremely beautiful, perhaps the most beautiful arrangement for the worship of God that the world has ever seen. They are taken in many cases from ancient temples and the parts are put together without much care for symmetry, so that capitals of one order are found on shafts of another, and some of the columns are fluted while others are plain. This is especially the case in the church of S. Maria in Trastevere and S. Agnese Fuori.

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It was felt that a low roof in the nave such as that in S. Maria Maggiore was not desirable, and at the same time a high wall over the rows of columns did not look well and was difficult to ornament properly. The difficulty was surmounted to some degree by introducing arches over the columns instead of a straight entablature, as in S. Clemente, and in many cases the roof was left entirely open with no ceiling at all. In one or two churches a very beautiful arrangement of a gallery over the side aisles is found, as in the old part of S. Lorenzo Fuori, and still more perfectly in S. Agnese Fuori, where there is a gallery running round the sides of the church with its own row of smaller marble columns, and the general effect of the two rows of marble columns over one another is extremely good. This custom was however not followed in other cases, and as a rule the triforium of Gothic churches is represented by a plain wall ornamented by mosaics or paintings. Above this there is often a clerestory with small windows, very often decorated with pictures between the windows. Most of the pavements in the earlier churches are composed of mosaic work in patterns, and the apse is almost always ornamented by pictures of this kind.

Pavements.—The pavements are often composed of large pieces of marble carefully fitted together, sometimes so arranged as to form a simple pattern of a geometrical kind. This is often called *opus Alexandrinum*, from its having

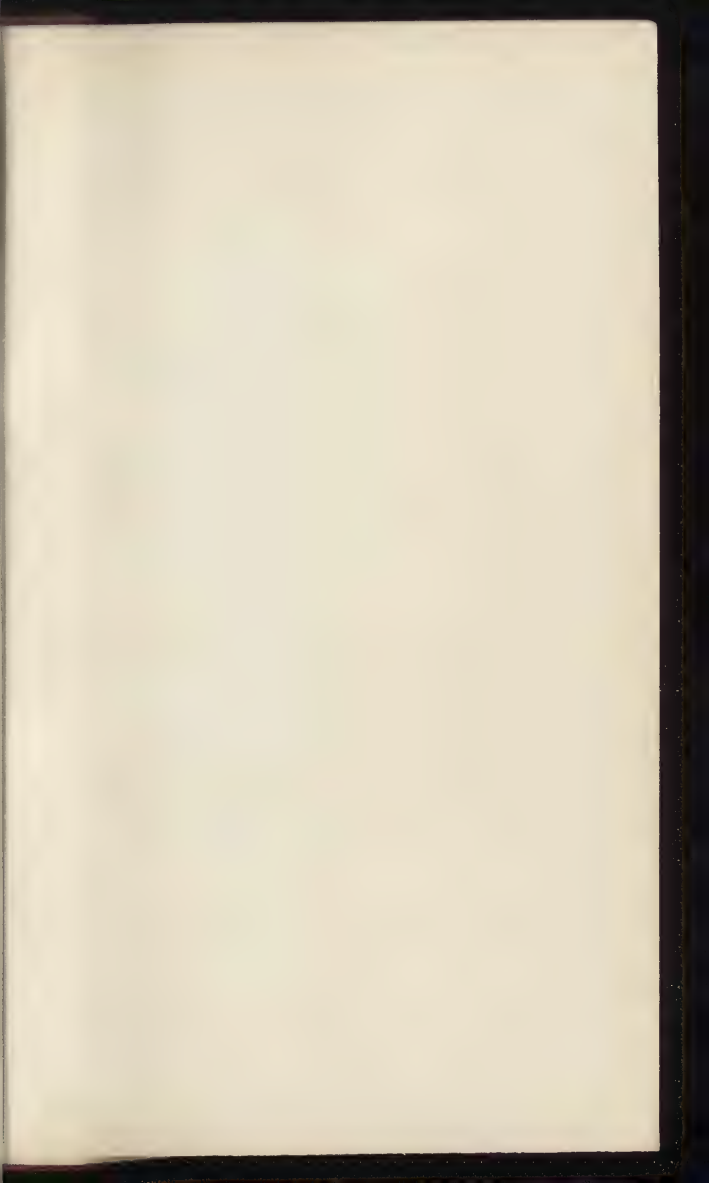
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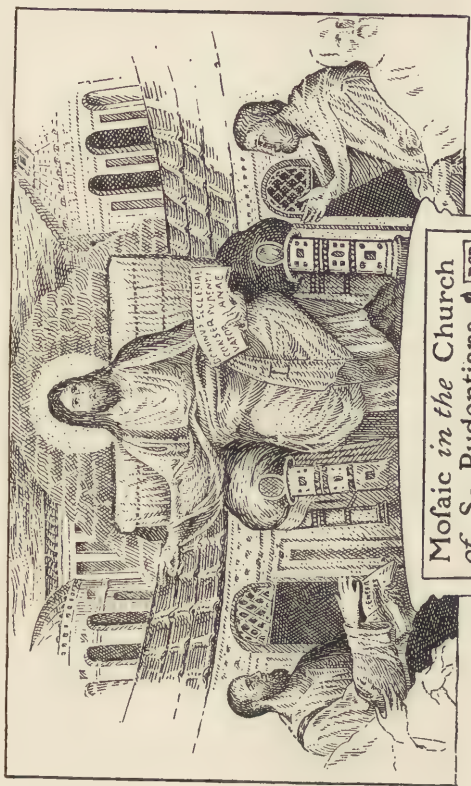
been introduced into pagan buildings during the reign of Alexander Severus. Examples of such pavements may be seen in S. Maria Maggiore and in S. Maria in Trastevere, as well as curiously enough in the chapel of the Confessor at Westminster Abbey, where a Roman worker named Ordericus was employed in 1258. When the floor is composed of mosaics, they are very like those in the great baths and do not attempt to treat of allegorical or religious themes, and they preserve all the conventional figures that we see in the old Roman work. Very few of these are preserved, as they were broken up in the Middle Ages to make way for the more famous Cosmati work.

Mosaic Decoration.—The mosaics of the apse and sides are far more important, and though the earlier ones, such as those in S. Costanza, followed closely the old pagan types, yet the later ones attained an astonishing development under the influence of Christianity.

Some account of the way in which a mosaic pattern was composed has already been given (p. 71), and it need only be said that while those in the churches were put together in much the same way they made special use of the combination of gold leaf with glass cubes that gave the rich and bright appearance to so many of the pictures, and which have a grand effect in the dimly lighted churches with their small windows.

The art was continued without a break for many centuries, and it is curious that the





Mosaic in the Church
of S. Pudentiana

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merit of the work done at different times varies greatly; the art of the ninth century, for instance, is said by those who know to be inferior to that of both earlier and later times.

Perhaps the most beautiful mosaics that exist are the large patterns over the columns of the nave in Apollinare in Classe near Ravenna, but some in Rome are almost as lovely, as for instance those in S. Maria Maggiore of the fifth century, over the great triumphal arch in front of the apse, portraying the events in connection with the birth and early life of our Lord. They are described by the inscription at the top as the work of Sosius Episcopus, that is to say Sixtus III., who was Pope from 432 to 440.

Mosaic Pictures in S. Pudenziana.—The oldest Christian mosaics in Rome may be seen on the tombstones in the sacristy of S. Maria in Trastevere, which were taken from the catacomb of Callixtus, and are perhaps as old as the second or third century, but the earliest mosaic constructed for the church in which it is placed is that in the apse of S. Pudenziana, which was composed in the fourth century. It represents Christ seated on a throne in the centre with S. Paul on his right and S. Peter on his left, while the two daughters of the Senator Pudens are approaching him with crowns in their hands. Many figures of the Apostles were cut off when the apse was restored and mutilated in the sixteenth century. The build-

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ings above belong to Jerusalem, and are a type of the heavenly city, and above them is the cross, which is first used here as the emblem of our salvation.

Fifth and Sixth Century Mosaics.—A few of those in S. Paolo Fuori belong to the same date as the oldest in S. Maria Maggiore, and the curious figures of the Old Testament heroes in Roman garb may be compared with the mediæval pictures of the last supper where the Apostles are arrayed in the costume of Italian gentlemen. Those in the apse of SS. Cosma e Damiano are of the sixth century, and represent Christ standing on the clouds of heaven, while the Apostles Peter and Paul are introducing the martyrs to him. The figures are not very well done, and have rather a strange appearance, quite unlike the classical figures seen elsewhere, so that it has been suggested that the workers were Germans who adopted the barbarian types, just as those in Ravenna followed Eastern examples, especially in S. Vitale. The great pictures in the apse of the churches differed from the paintings in the catacombs in this, that they were really intended to teach the lesson of Christ's coming to the less learned worshippers, so that they have an additional interest as expressing the religious spirit of early Christian times.

The following list of some of the best mosaics in Rome may be of use to the student, but it is by no means exhaustive, and the subject is worth a long study in reading the chief

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authorities and in visiting the best examples as often as possible. The mosaics of the earliest times have been mentioned already.

Seventh Century.—S. Agnese Fuori.

Eighth Century.—Baptistery of the Lateran.

Ninth Century.—S. Cecilia in Trastevere. S. Prassede (triumphal arch). S. Maria in Domnica.

Twelfth Century.—S. Clemente (apse). S. Maria in Trastevere (apse).

Thirteenth Century.—S. Clemente (triumphal arch). S. Giovanni in Laterano (apse). S. Maria Maggiore (apse and west end).

Fourteenth Century.—S. Maria in Cosmedin (walls) and the porch of S. Peter's.

Those in S. Maria in Domnica, a little church near SS. Giovanni e Paolo, are specially good, and the mosaic in the porch of S. Peter's is the work of Giotto. The mosaics in S. Sophia at Constantinople are of the sixth century, and those in S. Mark's at Venice of the twelfth.

When the Emperor Constantine had been converted to Christianity he erected several large churches for public worship, but of those that he founded old S. Peter's has been destroyed, and S. Giovanni in Laterano has been so altered that the primitive arrangements can hardly be distinguished, while only a portion of S. Paolo Fuori has survived the fire of 1823.

S. Pudenziana.—In his time there were, no doubt, in existence several places of worship that had been founded in ordinary dwelling-

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houses, and among these may be mentioned S. Pudenziana, which was, no doubt, merely the house of the Senator Pudens, who is mentioned by S. Paul ; and some of its remains can be seen in the vaults beneath the present church. It will be very useful to visit this church on our way to S. Maria Maggiore. The ancient grey columns in the interior have been built into piers, and spoilt, but the beautiful mosaics that were mentioned above are still preserved. The church was restored in 1588, when the dome was added ; and the brilliant façade is modern. The mosaic pavement is one of the few of early Christian times that have escaped destruction.

S. Maria Maggiore.—S. Maria Maggiore has preserved most of the characteristics of the old basilicas, and has been restored with so much taste that we can very well imagine ourselves to be within the original building of the fourth century. The first sight of the long rows of grey columns, of the fine roof and the beautiful pavement is impressive in the highest degree, and the greatest lover of our Gothic churches must feel the attraction of its simple beauty. The rows of columns, that belong to the time of Sixtus III. (432), are not surmounted by arches, but by a straight entablature, which is covered with mosaic pictures of scenes in sacred history ; while those over the entrance to the tribune are more elaborate, and have been somewhat altered, but all are worth careful attention.

The fine pavement was added in the twelfth

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century, and the flat roof was designed by Sangallo, and is covered with some of the first gold brought by Columbus from America. It has been said that it is too low for the width of the nave, but this is hardly so, though it must be admitted that the vaults over the aisles do not match it. The mosaics in the apse are the work of Jacobus Torriti, in the thirteenth century, and are also very good when you can see them, which you cannot from the nave, on account of the canopy over the high altar. Just in front is the beautiful statue of Pope Pius IX., surrounded by marble walls. There is hardly anything in Rome more truly adapted to the house of God than these beautiful kneeling figures, which are hardly ever seen in other places. The double columns and arches at the entrance of the transept are very fine, and the chapels contain some of the most beautiful work of the Renaissance, especially the one on the left, which was built by Paul V., the founder of the great Borghese family, in 1608, and is completely covered with marble and alabaster. The Pope himself lies in the crypt beneath, in whose reign the Catholic Church regained many of its lost powers, and the cause of the German Protestants seemed lost for ever when the Palatine Frederick was routed at Weissberg in 1620. Near his monument is that of Clement VIII., his predecessor, who granted absolution to Henry IV. of France and added Ferrara to the Papal possessions, but who is best known to us as the man who condemned Beatrice Cenci. In the right transept is another

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gorgeous chapel, containing the monument of *Sextus V.* (1585), who freed the Campagna from the robber bands, and reformed the law and taxation of Rome, but who is detested by antiquarians, because he destroyed the Septizonium on the Palatine, and the old palace of the Lateran : a very strong man, to whom Rome owes the splendid fountain and aqueduct on the Janiculum, but who had little reverence for the great past. The ancient portico of the church was destroyed in the eighteenth century, when the present façade was added. In the balcony are preserved some of the mosaics of the old front, and in the piazza on which it looks is a magnificent column from the basilica of Constantine, surmounted by a figure of the Virgin.

S. Prassede.—Turning down a small street from the piazza, we come to S. Prassede, which was constructed by Pope Paschal I. in the ninth century, on the site of an older church, that may have been originally the house of the saint. It has been injured by the restorers, who have enclosed some of the fine granite columns in clumsy pilasters, and arches have been thrown across the nave from some of these, as is done at S. Miniato at Florence ; but originally, no doubt, the two lines of columns were without a break. The entablature above the columns is in part plain, but in some places beautifully carved, and has remains of old inscriptions. At the door of a chapel on the right are two old pillars with an exquisite entablature from some old temple. The floor within the apse is raised,

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as in many old churches, and the ninth-century mosaics are extremely good : the stars sprinkled over a pale blue are very effective. Artists say that the details are not skilfully drawn, but the visitor must judge for himself. The whole church is a regular treasury of classical columns and carving. There is a curious pillar buried in the wall near the principal entrance, and some others on the left side of the apse, with alternate rows of plain fluting and of arbutus leaves.

There is a beautiful little picture of S. Prassede sleeping at the back of the church.

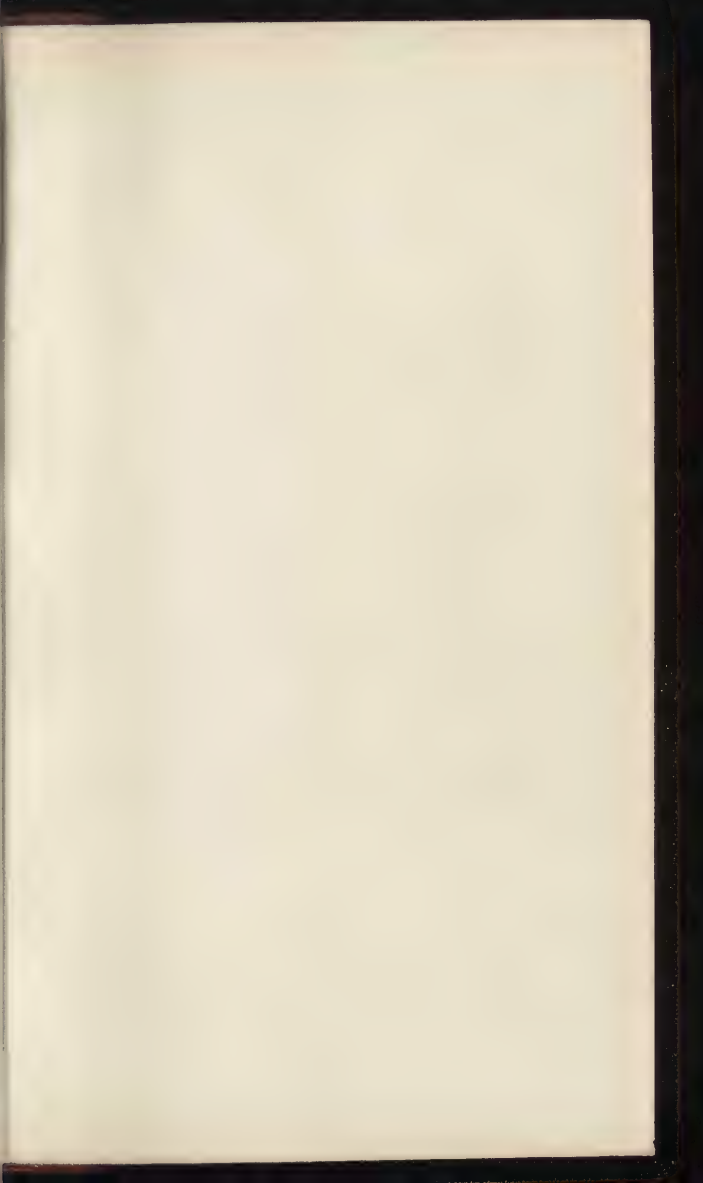
S. Martino ai Monti.—There is not much that is fresh to be seen in the church of S. Martino ai Monti, but underneath the church is an older one, which is built on the ruins of some baths, perhaps those of Trajan, and has some very interesting windows, in which pierced marble screens are used instead of glass. The mosaic pavements of the early Empire belong to the baths. The ruins are exquisitely beautiful in the sunshine, with the ferns clustering over the edge of the lofty walls.

S. Pietro in Vincoli.—It will not take long to reach the church of S. Pietro in Vincoli, which has two very fine rows of fluted Doric columns, that may have been taken from the great baths, and which are among the best that exist, and give a good idea of the splendour of the colonnades that were so numerous in ancient Rome. The ancient entablature above the columns has been removed, and the small round

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arches we now see were put in its place. The old open roof was also destroyed or covered by the present one, which resembles the covering of the saloon in a big steamer.

The Bishop's throne in the apse is particularly beautiful, and is probably a Greek work, that was brought to Rome from some theatre at Athens or elsewhere. There are also some fine Corinthian columns, and over the second altar of the left aisle is a mosaic of the seventh or ninth century, representing the young S. Sebastian. But most of those who come to the church, after admiring the colonnade, will go at once to the monument of Julius II. at the end of the right aisle. If this Pope had been born in a different age and land he might have rivalled the great conquerors of the world. Probably no prince has ever possessed greater powers of mind and body, but it is not likely that Martin Luther, who visited Rome during his reign, saw in the great and magnificent prelate a worthy successor of the Apostle S. Peter. He raised the confederacy that put an end to the power of Venice on land, and laid the foundation-stone of S. Peter's, and many of the finest ornaments of the Vatican are due to his care. He had intended that his tomb should excel any that existed, and even the part that is now complete occupied Michael Angelo for five years. The figure of Moses is very grand, though the monument as a whole is disappointing, especially the recumbent figure of the Pontiff, which, however, is not Michael Angelo's work.





S · CLEMENT'S · CHURCH ·

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Under the high altar are preserved the chains which are said to have been worn by S. Peter when a prisoner in the Mamertine dungeon.

S. Clemente.—The church that has preserved most of the characteristics of the early English basilicas is the one that is sacred to S. Clemente, not far from the Colosseum. The present church was erected by Paschal I. about 1100, when the earlier church that still exists beneath it had been ruined in the sack of Rome by Robert Guiscard, and many of its ornaments including the ambones and the stone railings are taken from the older building. It is one of the few churches that have preserved an atrium or courtyard in front, though we know that most old churches possessed one, in the centre of which was generally a fountain where the weary pilgrim might wash before entering the holy place. An interesting marble basin for this purpose is still preserved in the court of S. Cecilia in Trastevere.

S. Clemente was restored by Clement XI., who added the present unsuitable roof in the place of the old wooden one. The columns that separate the nave and the aisles were taken from various pagan temples. The canopy over the high altar, a work of the Cosmati family, is perhaps the best in Rome ; it has four columns and a little colonnade above, surmounted by a sloping roof with a cross at the top. The most interesting thing in the church is the choir in the nave surrounded by a small stone screen with two ambones or pulpits at the sides, which

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after the removal are said to have been set up in the wrong positions; the one on the left has a mosaic candelabrum. The apse itself is shut off from the nave by a low railing, that has a small opening in the centre, through which you descend to the choir by steps as in Ravenna, and a stone bench runs round the back, in the centre of which is the Bishop's seat.

The fine mosaics are probably the work of Greek artists in the thirteenth century; the cross in the centre is exceptionally beautiful; perhaps those above the arch are of older date, though equally beautiful.

The Lower Church.—Below the floor of the present church is an older one, which is mentioned in Christian writings of the fourth century, and which was itself built on still older pagan dwellings. There are in it some specially beautiful columns of green marble with fluting running round the shaft in a slanting direction, and some fine frescoes of the eighth and ninth centuries which were probably executed just before the destruction of the older church. This was a much larger building than the present one, though it was of much the same shape, and the nave is filled with buttresses that were built to sustain the upper church. The aisles, however, can be clearly made out, and it is worth some trouble to inspect the frescoes on the wall.

Beneath the lower church are the remains of several buildings, including a temple of Mithras, an Oriental deity who was worshipped in the

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last days of paganism, and some very ancient walls that resemble in style the Servian Wall, as well as a small chamber that may have formed part of S. Clement's own house. It is usually very difficult to inspect these vaults on account of the water that accumulates within them.

SS. Quattro Coronati.—Quite close to S. Clemente is the church of SS. Quattro Coronati, erected in honour of four martyrs who suffered in the persecution of Diocletian, which was also rebuilt, after the invasion of the Normans, by Pope Paschal II., on a smaller scale than the original church. It is probable that the second of the two entrance courts was once a part of the church and that the columns were those that separated the nave and aisles. The interior is interesting because it contains a triforium gallery quite high up under the roof, which is of carved wood and probably very like the original one. The altar is towards the west, as in most of the early churches of Rome. The priest, says Parker, stood behind and officiated over it as the Pope now does at S. Peter's, an early custom that has died out elsewhere. In a little chapel opening out of the inner court are some old frescoes of the twelfth century which from their subjects are probably the work of Byzantine artists.

S. Agnese Fuori.—A little more than a mile from the Porta Pia is the church of S. Agnese Fuori, which was founded by Constantine over the tomb of the virgin martyr Agnes, who died in the persecution

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under Diocletian, after suffering many torments in the vaults that are now beneath the church called after her in the Piazza Navona. As the tomb was placed in a deep part of the ancient catacomb, it was necessary to erect the church beneath the level of the ground, in order to avoid moving the body, and therefore we have to descend to the church by an ancient staircase, the walls of which are now covered with inscriptions from the catacombs.

The present church, which was built by Honorius I. (625), is a basilica, very like those in Ravenna, but with many interesting features of its own. The columns separating the nave and aisles only rise to about half the height of the building, and above them is a triforium gallery, which also possesses a row of smaller pillars. The roof of the aisles is the floor of the gallery, which was probably intended for the women who watched the service. The roof of the nave is higher than that of the aisles, and there is a clerestory over the arches above the row of pillars in the triforium. The gallery goes round three sides of the church, and is worth ascending in order to inspect the small columns. At the end of the nave is an apse covered with mosaics of the seventh century, which are very good, but which cannot be seen from the nave on account of the canopy over the shrine of S. Agnes, which was added in 1614. It is worthy of note that the columns in the nave must have been taken from various buildings, as some are fluted and some are not,

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while the capitals also are of various kinds. They are surmounted by arches which take the place of the entablature, as we see also in S. Lorenzo Fuori, which should be visited about the same time as S. Agnese.

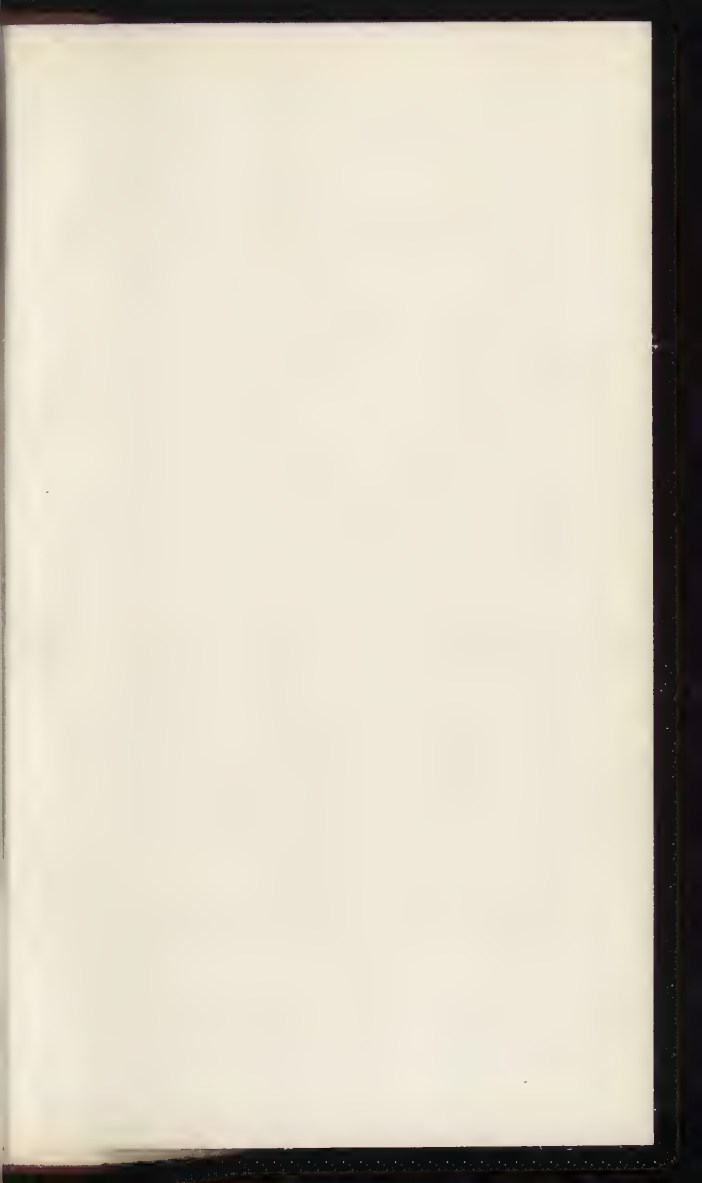
S. Lorenzo Fuori.—This church is about a quarter of a mile beyond the Porta S. Lorenzo, and was also founded by Constantine, above the tomb of the martyr, but was rebuilt by Pelagius II. in 578, who removed a great part of the earth that covered the tomb, so that the church built over it now became open to the light. Great additions were made by Honorius III. in the thirteenth century, and the façade and beautiful portico were moved to their present position. The mosaics above the Ionic columns are thirteenth-century work, but most of the frescoes on the wall are quite modern. The interior has two parts; the nave and aisles, which are separated by some old granite and marble columns, some of which probably came from the portico of Octavia, belong to the time of Honorius, and so do the fine pavement and the two ambones, the one on the right for the Gospel, and the other for the Epistle.

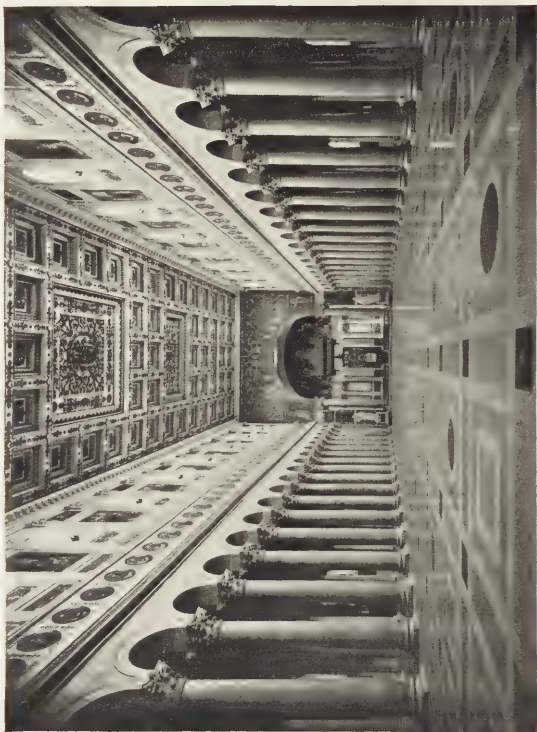
From the nave we ascend to a new floor added by the same Pope to make the choir of the church, and from it we are able to inspect closely the fine Corinthian columns of the older church and the exquisitely carved entablature above them, which may give us some idea of the great beauty of the ancient temples.

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The arrangement of the original church was similar to that of S. Agnese ; above the columns of the nave there was a gallery which contained smaller pillars surmounted by round arches, and this is continued at the back of the choir, which was the entrance of the old church. Standing by the canopy which has been raised in height but not improved in modern times, we face the old triumphal arch, which is all that is left of the apse. The sixth-century mosaics that have been lately restored are said to show signs of Byzantine work, like those in S. Vitale in Ravenna. The Bishop's seat in the old apse has been placed at the back of the church, which must originally have looked very much like that of S. Agnese, except that there were but five columns on each side instead of seven. Both churches are interesting as showing the earliest trace of the triforium, which became so important in Gothic churches, but was entirely absent from the buildings of the Renaissance. The original roof in all these early churches was probably a flat wooden one ornamented by panels like some of those in Ravenna and the new one in S. Maria Maggiore.

S. Paolo Fuori. — There are other churches in Rome that have preserved the fine rows of marble columns and some of the arrangements of early times, and after the destruction of S. Paolo Fuori by fire in 1823 a grand new church was built in the old style, preserving as far as possible the original plan





S. PAOLO FUORI

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of the old basilica erected by Theodosius in 386 A.D., on the site of a small church which Constantine had built over the tomb of S. Paul. In the Middle Ages S. Paolo was the centre of a small settlement, and was fortified in order to protect it from the attacks of the Saracens by John VIII. (872), but all traces of these walls and buildings have disappeared, and even a long portico of a thousand columns that connected it with the city gate, the modern Porta S. Paolo, has all been carried off by mediæval builders and sculptors.

It is not necessary to say much of the façade, as it is difficult to criticise a work that, taken as a whole, appears to northern eyes unworthy of so fine a church, but which the builders may have felt compelled to construct to resemble as far as possible the fronts of the early Christian basilicas. The granite columns and mosaics which ornament the principal front towards the Tiber are in themselves fine and tastefully executed. The general view of S. Paolo is most impressive. As you enter the nave you are in the midst of a forest of pillars ; the bare marble pavement increases the effect, and the plain grey colour of the columns is simple and grand. They are surmounted as in some old churches by small arches, above which is a beautiful and interesting series of portraits of the Popes.

It has been said that the nave is too wide and that it would have been better to have made the interior like that of the Duomo at

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Pisa, but this merely means that those who criticise do not like this style of church architecture. The interior of S. Maria Maggiore is perhaps in better proportion, and the experiment of a great arch across the nave springing from two great columns attached to the sides has been successfully tried at S. Miniato at Florence, yet it is doubtful if these arches really improve the interiors of this kind of church.

The view from the door over the marble pavement of the beautiful canopy above the high altar is a very fine one; the triumphal arch that separates the transept from the body of the church belongs to the old basilica and was built in 440 by the Princess Galla Placidia, whose tomb is one of the wonders of Ravenna, and the mosaics were executed by her commands. The canopy is supported by four columns of alabaster, presented by the famous Mahomet Ali, and in front of the altar is the place where the body of S. Paul was laid, but which has disappeared and may have been removed elsewhere at the time of the Arab invasion of 846 to some safer resting-place. When the visitor has passed the altar he finds himself in, as it were, a fresh church with many fine Corinthian columns and filled with pictures and statues.

The mosaics of the apse were designed in the thirteenth century, and the dark blue contrasts well with the gold, while the figure of our Lord is very good, though the gilded frieze

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spoils their effect to a great extent, and in the same way the pictures on the wall suffer from the coloured windows near them.

From the right transept we may reach a vestibule containing a fine statue of Pope Gregory XVI. by Rinaldi; the embroidery of his robe is exquisitely carved in stone. There are also some curious old Roman mosaics and some fine pictures in the sacristy.

The Cloisters.—No one should neglect to see the beautiful cloisters, that belong to the same period as those of S. Giovanni and were built about 1208. They are designed in a pure classical style and the details are very simple. Above the little arches a beautiful mosaic pattern runs all round and the greater divisions are often separated by columns taken from old buildings instead of pilasters as at S. Giovanni. There are four very beautiful entrances a little higher than the arches with exquisite little columns and mosaics.

The "Tre Fontane".—About two miles from S. Paolo is the monastery of the Tre Fontane on the spot where S. Paul is said to have suffered death in the very midst of the pestilential Campagna, which has of late years been occupied by some French Trappists, who have made the place much more healthy by growing eucalyptus trees; but even now it is impossible to live there in summer. One of the churches, S. Paolo alle Tre Fontane, stands on the very spot where the Apostle was put to death, and possesses some very quaint statues.

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Another, S. Vincenzo, the largest of the three, is worth notice, because although it was founded by Honorius I. in 790 it does not resemble the basilicas, but is rather like a Gothic church. The third church is of circular form and resembles the baptisteries so common in northern Italy. The garden is very pretty and the whole place has a quaint mediæval appearance and should on no account be passed over.

Circular Buildings and Churches.—Besides the churches that were built in imitation of the old basilicas, there were a number of other buildings that resembled the tombs in pagan times and were themselves often memorial chambers erected to contain the tomb of some great person. When this was not the case and the building is itself a church it would seem that the early Christians carried out the ideas of art which inspired the architects who devised the Pantheon and the mysterious building called after Minerva Medica.

Minerva Medica.—This building is very well worth a careful study and it can easily be visited as it is only a few minutes' walk from the Porta Maggiore down the Viale Principessa Margherita.

It is uncertain what it really was, but it is now generally considered from the style of its architecture to belong to the second or third century after Christ. Possibly it was the hall of a bath, but no building of that kind is known to have existed there, unless it was the private bath of a great house. Whatever it may be it

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is extremely interesting. It is a complete circle with ten windows instead of the round hole in the top, and the same number of recesses in the sides, with a dome eighty feet in diameter. When it was in proper repair with a coating of marble inside and with statues in the recesses and perhaps ornamental columns at the sides, as in the Pantheon, it must have had a singularly graceful and attractive appearance. There are remains of two columns that formed its entrance still in existence. As its height is greater than its diameter, its construction was in some respects better than that of the Pantheon.

Several buildings in Rome resemble it in many respects, but those who wish to see what it may have been should visit the church of S. Vitale at Ravenna, a town which often supplies a more complete picture of early Christian art than any other in Italy, just as Pestum or the Sicilian towns enable us to imagine what the great Roman temples looked like in the days of their grandeur.

S. Costanza.—The tomb or baptistery of *S. Costanza* is almost close to the church of S. Agnese, outside the Porta Pia, and was originally erected by Constantine as a memorial to his daughter, but was turned into a church in 1256. The sarcophagus which contained the body of the girl has been removed to the Vatican, and can be seen in the Museum of Antiquities, covered with bold, though rather coarse, marble carving. The tomb itself consists of a central

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dome supported by twelve pairs of columns, and an aisle running outside them covered with a plain round vault. The dome is lighted by a number of windows above the arches over the columns, and the general effect is very pleasing. The roof of the aisle is decorated by mosaics of the fourth century, on a blue ground, representing country scenes—birds and cattle, with carts drawn by oxen : in one place the driver is whipping on his team, and a man on foot is pulling with all his might to make the horses go on. Their general character is purely classical, and almost all the designs are taken from pagan art, but there are a few Christian figures on the two large niches at the sides. In one of these God the Father may be seen giving the law to Moses, and on the other Peter is receiving the new law from Christ. We see, in fact, the transition from the old mosaics, which were purely decorative, to the new, which were intended to teach a lesson to the worshippers.

Ponte Nomentano.—About two miles from this chapel is the Ponte Nomentano, an old Roman bridge, over which Nero passed on his last journey. He seems to have been stupefied by the desertion of the Pretorian Guards, and to have delayed flight until too late, so that he only reached the villa of his freedman Phaon, which was a short distance beyond the bridge, a few minutes before his pursuers, and had just time to escape from their hands by a voluntary death.

Baptisteries.—There is, however, a whole

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class of buildings all over Italy all of which are circular in form, and would appear to have been used for the more solemn rites of the Church, the burial service and the sacrament of baptism, which was certainly always performed in the early times in a separate building, and not in the basilica. The oldest baptistery in Italy is that near the church of S. Giovanni in Laterano in Rome, which is said to have been originally founded by Constantine, though no part of the present building is earlier than the time of Sixtus III., 430 A.D. It consists, like most of these buildings, of a central space and a surrounding passage, which are separated by light and beautiful porphyry columns, which seem to have been taken from different temples. Inside there is a second row of small white pillars, and under the dome is an attic, decorated by pilasters. The general effect is not good, but the paintings on the wall of the acts of Constantine are very interesting, and the green basalt font in the centre is said to have been used by Rienzi.

The outside is very poor and mean, but the bronze doors are said to have been brought from the baths of Caracalla.

S. Stefano Rotondo.—Perhaps the most curious of all the circular buildings in existence is the church of S. Stefano Rotondo, on the Cælian, which may be reached from the Piazza di S. Giovanni by turning down the Via di S. Stefano. It consists of two concentric rings of columns, the outer one of which is now

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buried in the wall, but was originally open to the air. The inner colonnade of twenty granite columns has a round wall above it, supporting a flat roof ; but across the centre of this, and close to the roof, is a wall supported by two buttresses and two fine Corinthian columns standing in the middle of the circle.

What the building originally was is not certain, but very possibly the Macellum of Nero, which was perhaps reconstructed in the fourth century as a market. It was consecrated as a church by Pope Simplicius, and a century later the apse was built and decorated with beautiful mosaics. It was restored by Nicholas V., who built the cross wall, and filled up the outer circle with masonry, except where chapels had been erected.

Probably much of the ornament had suffered from exposure to the weather in old times. He also made the present entrance, in which is now an old marble seat, from which Gregory the Great used to preach ; and the old door on the east side is now a chapel, which has some good mosaics. The inner circle has a horizontal architrave, and the outer one supports arches, but all the columns are taken from older buildings, and many are exceedingly rude in their form. The outer wall is now decorated by a number of curious paintings of no artistic merit, but very interesting, because they depict in the most life-like way the sufferings of the old martyrs.

“Others had trial of cruel mockings and

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scourgings, yea, moreover, of bonds and imprisonment: they were stoned, they were sawn asunder, were tempted, were slain with the sword: of whom the world was not worthy" (Hebrews xi. 36).

CHAPTER XI.

MEDIÆVAL ROME.

The Absence of Gothic Work in Rome.—

One of the chief reasons that no part of Rome really wears a mediæval look like Shrewsbury or the old Norman towns is the absence of all Gothic work from palace and church. The Romans always lived in the shadow of their great past, and they never cared to introduce even the modified Gothic style of northern Italy; there is no trace of pointed arch or flying buttress nor of those glorious windows with their beautiful and complicated tracery, filled with brilliant and many tinted glass, which are so much admired in our own land. There is not a single ancient spire and hardly a pointed window to be found in Rome. Whatever work was done in Rome during the Middle Ages took the form of repairing the old basilicas or of building those ugly old square towers of brick in which the nobles fortified themselves.

The Campaniles.—There is, however, one exception to this faithfulness to the past in the erection of the graceful little campaniles that are still so common everywhere, and which seem to have been built about the thirteenth century,

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though the first tower attached to a church was built by Adrian I. in front of old S. Peter's. All these towers are square in plan and consist of many stages divided by cornices of brick or stone. In the upper storeys are windows divided by slender shafts with round arches, and they nearly always have a singularly graceful appearance. Perhaps the most beautiful is the one attached to the church of S. Maria in Cosmedin, which has windows almost from its base, and is constructed of fine neat brickwork. The campaniles of SS. Giovanni e Paolo and of S. Maria Maggiore are also very fine.

S. Maria sopra Minerva.—The only existing Gothic church in Rome is that of S. Maria sopra Minerva near the Pantheon, which was built on the site of a temple of Minerva by the foreign monks of the Dominican order in 1370. It has all the characteristics of Italian Gothic, and differs considerably from northern churches; there is a large wall space, which is painted and coloured, as in Renaissance churches, and the windows are quite small and do not resemble at all the large and beautifully shaped windows that fill the sides of our churches. In the apse, however, are three beautiful pointed windows filled with coloured glass, but they are too small to excite much notice.

The Cosmati Family.—The sculpture in the church is better executed and is far superior to most of that displayed in northern churches, although it is more detached from the general plan. The finest tombs are the work of the

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Cosmati family, who worked in Rome during four generations for more than 150 years in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, decorating pulpits and tombs with mosaics of serpentine and rare marbles, to obtain which they plundered the old buildings and cut up the beautiful columns and lovely pavements of the temples and palaces ; a great number of marble statues were melted down simply for the sake of the lime they contained, and a great quantity of epitaphs were destroyed to make decoration columns like those in the cloisters of S. Giovanni, as well as for ambones and pavements. Lime kilns have been found filled to the top with beautiful statues of goddesses and emperors. The cathedrals of Orvieto and Pisa were constructed with the remains of old Rome, and marble was sent over the sea as far as London to decorate the tomb of Edward the Confessor at Westminster, and all this was done when the great stores of Numidian and other marbles accumulated by the Emperors still lay unexhausted near the banks of the Tiber. We may be grateful that these stolen goods were used for so many graceful works in this and other mediæval churches.

There is, in fact, no church in Rome except that of S. Maria del Popolo which has so fine a collection of beautiful work in marble and stone, though some of the best examples really belong to the Renaissance artists. The Caraffa Chapel in the right transept besides many interesting frescoes contains the fine tomb of

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Durandus, Bishop of Mende, who died in Rome in 1290, with a mosaic of the Virgin by Giovanni Cosmati. The tombs in the choir of Leo X. and Clement VII. were designed by Sangallo, possibly the greatest of Renaissance architects, and it is remarkable that the two Popes, who are for ever identified with the great works of the Renaissance, should have chosen this Gothic church for their monuments. A very different man, Cardinal Caraffa, afterwards Paul IV., the leader of the great movement in the Catholic world to reform abuses and to check Protestantism, lies near Bishop Durandus. His whole life and energies were directed solely to the restoration of the Catholic faith to its old authority, and, as is usually the case, the singleness of his aim combined with great force of character vividly impressed the world he lived in. He encouraged the foundation of the new monastic orders, and restored the terrible Inquisition in all its vigour. It was in front of this church in the piazza where the elephant now stands that heretics were burnt from time to time ; the age he lived in considered persecution justifiable, and it is certain that the Protestant cause was checked in southern Europe.

There is a statue of Christ by Michael Angelo to the left in front of the altar, but it has been spoilt by the addition of some bronze drapery, and the face perhaps is rather weak and effeminate in appearance, but as to this the visitor must judge for himself. It is curious that so

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many of the pictures of our Lord have the same type of face.

S. Croce.—The famous church of S. Croce in Gerusalemme, near the Porta Maggiore, that was originally a hall of the palace of Helena, mother of Constantine, was almost entirely rebuilt in 1144, and may therefore be called a mediæval church, though it would be hard to say that it has any particular style of architecture, while it has been restored in the worst taste in the last century. The pictures, however, of the Christian virtues on the wall and the numerous relics that are shown call up memories of the days when pilgrims flocked to Rome to visit the tombs of S. Peter and S. Paul, and the resting-places of the innumerable martyrs whose bones rested in the catacombs; happy indeed if they could return with some bone or bit of clothing that had belonged to some saint. Even the secretary of Charlemagne relates with pride the skilful way in which his agents stole the bodies of two saints and brought them in triumph to Germany.

The Ruins were much more Extensive.—In the early Middle Ages the Campus Martius must have presented a magnificent view. The gigantic remains of the thermæ of Agrippa and of Alexander Severus, the stadium of Domitian, the Odeum, the Circus Agonalis, the theatres of Pompey and Marcellus, the portico of Octavia formed a collection unsurpassed in splendour; and the tomb of Hadrian still retained its white marble covering. It was the capture of Rome

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by Robert Guiscard in 1085, and the great fire that followed it, which really ruined ancient Rome. The hills were for the most part abandoned, and were gradually occupied by vineyards and gardens. The streets that were built after the great fire were very narrow, and were blocked everywhere with the towers of the nobles or the monasteries of the Church. It was often impossible for two horsemen to pass abreast, and great balconies overhung the streets, from which, in times of trouble, stones and missiles of every kind were hurled on those beneath. There was no industry of any sort, and the people lived upon the pilgrims. As S. Bernard said of them, they were always talking of great things, but their deeds were little. The general appearance of the town was a mass of low red-roofed houses, with here and there a great group of ruins and numerous ugly towers like the *Tor de' Conti* in the present day.

The Towers of the Nobles.—In the eleventh and twelfth centuries the great nobles built towers everywhere. The Frangipani occupied the Colosseum, the Orsini the theatre of Pompey, and the Colonnas fortified the mausoleum of Augustus, while most of the triumphal arches became fortresses. So numerous were these towers that the Senator Brancallone destroyed 140 of them in 1257. A few may still be seen, and are worth notice as a remembrance of these lawless times. Just behind the forum of Nerva, near the modern *Via Cavour*, is a great square brick tower called after the *Conti* family, which

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was built by Pope Innocent III. about 1200, and which the poet Petrarch said was the only one in Rome that was not in private hands.

At no great distance, near the Piazza Magnanapoli, is the Torre delle Milizie, the lower part of which was built in 1210, and the rest towards the end of the same century. It used to be called the tower of Nero, from a tradition that Nero watched the great fire of Rome from its summit. The visitor to S. Pietro in Vincoli should also notice a fine tall mediæval tower close by, that is now used as the belfry of S. Francesco di Paola, which was built about a century after the others. There is another opposite, of an earlier date, but with battlements that were added in 1500.

Private Houses.—There are some interesting mediæval remains in Trastevere, but hardly a single private house still exists in Rome of the earlier Middle Ages, except the house of Crescentius, near the Ponte Rotto and the old temples of the Forum Boarium. It is simply a collection of old fragments of temples and other classical buildings, put together without order or taste. It was probably built in the eleventh century, and is called the house of Rienzi, though it has no real connection with him.

The Cenci.—The grim palace of the Cenci, close by, though it was built in these days, recalls to us the tragedy of far later times—of the ill-fated Beatrice Cenci, so well known from Shelley's famous play. Recent researches would seem to show that even if Francesco

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Cenci was a man of infamous character, the worst charge against him had no foundation, and that Beatrice was certainly guilty of his murder, and was herself by no means a good girl, though much to be pitied. The famous portrait in the Barberini Gallery was not painted by Guido until after her death in 1599.

The Ghetto.—The desolate open space near the palace once contained the Ghetto or Jews' quarter, and it was only pulled down a few years ago. The Jews were confined to this district in the sixteenth century, and were shut in by great walls and gates. It was one of the most picturesque parts of Rome, and its closely packed streets were a perfect hive of industry. The Jews were often compelled by force to attend sermons in the church of S. Angelo in Pescheria, which still exists ; and for some two centuries they were compelled to run races during the Carnival to amuse the crowds of Rome.

THE CÆLIAN.

Gregory the Great.—If we start from the Arch of Constantine, with its memories of the first Christian Emperor, and walk along the wide Via di S. Gregorio, under its long avenue of trees, we shall very soon come to the fine flight of steps in front of the church dedicated to Gregory the Great. Indeed all this part of the hill is filled with memories of that great man. The church itself and the monastery are

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built on the site of the palace of his family, which was one of the noblest in Rome ; Gregory himself was Prefect of Rome, and when he resolved to devote himself to the service of Christ he turned this palace into a monastery under the rule of S. Benedict. Dean Church in his Essay has given a very clear account of what Gregory did for the Church and for Italy. When he became Pope towards the end of the fifth century after Christ, there was no settled authority in Italy. The Greek Emperors had destroyed the Gothic monarchy but were unable to rule in its stead, and contented themselves with keeping garrisons in Rome and Ravenna and a few towns in the south. The powerful tribe of the Longobards, who traversed Italy in all directions destroying and plundering, had shown no inclination to settle quietly in new homes ; the country was filled with robber chiefs who fought with one another and oppressed the miserable people. In these straits men looked naturally to the only authority that appeared firmly established, that of the Bishops of Rome, and Gregory by his high character, his unselfishness and his generosity extended it in every direction. The church fortunately possessed the revenues of great estates in Sicily as yet untouched by war, and Gregory used them to help the poor of Rome and the country districts. When he saw that the Emperor either could not or would not exercise his authority he did everything in his power to conciliate the barbarians ; he main-

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tained and increased his power as Patriarch of Italy and wrote continually to the Bishops exhorting them to work and help the poor and to leave secular affairs alone ; he exercised also to some extent a wider power of superintendence over the whole Western Church, and firmly withstood the claim of the Patriarch of Constantinople to the title of Universal Bishop. When he became Pope, as Dean Church says, the future of the Papacy was still uncertain, but the picture of his energy of purpose and unwearied industry in business, as well as his passion for justice to small and great alike, which was presented to a despairing world by a man who claimed to be the successor of the greatest Apostles, laid the firm foundation of the power that is still so strong and active.

S. Gregorio.—It was Gregory who sent S. Augustine to England, and he may have said good-bye to him from the very steps that stand in front of the church. There is an old marble seat still preserved in which he used to sit in a small room in the right aisle, which was probably a part of the old monastery, and was preserved on account of its associations with the saint.

Very little of the church is earlier than the seventeenth century, though it possesses a fine old colonnade of granite pillars, some of which have been buried in ugly pilasters by the restorers of the eighteenth century. The detached chapels contain some fine paintings, and one at least, that of S. Barbara, should be

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visited to see the statue of Gregory by Cordieri, and the table where he is said to have sat daily to feed the poor.

The steep narrow road that leads up between S. Gregorio and the new park is one of the most beautiful in Rome. The great stillness and the quaint mediæval tower of SS. Giovanni e Paolo take the visitor in imagination far from the noise and bustle of modern life, and the beautiful little arcade round the outside of the apse recalls to his mind the cathedrals of western Europe, and he thinks of that time so little known, when the pomp and glitter of Imperial life had left Rome for ever, and the streets were filled no longer with soldiers and foreign envoys, but with pilgrims and missionaries. There is no rude castle to recall to his mind the anarchy of the Middle Ages; he thinks only of its piety and the ardent pursuit of good that led so many men from distant lands to visit the tombs of the Apostles.

SS. Giovanni e Paolo.—The present church of SS. Giovanni e Paolo was erected in the twelfth century, partly by Nicholas Breakspeare, the only English Pope, and it follows closely the form of the old basilicas. It possesses a very beautiful campanile, one of the prettiest in Rome; and the garden belonging to the monastery close by of the Passionist Fathers is an exquisitely lovely one, full of roses, with long covered passages overhung with vines, or bordered with great box trees. The church

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itself is often full of flowers, and everything shows the love which the monks have for gardening. There is a very good view from the garden of the great arches of the Claudian Aqueduct and the remains of the reservoir, that was originally a temple of Claudius, and returned again to its old use. It is beneath this church that the interesting old house was discovered that has already been mentioned (p. 67).

In the course of the recent excavations last year (1901) a very interesting discovery was made. A square brick column was brought to light, which proved a mystery to every one. When this was opened it was found to be a sort of well, and at the depth of $7\frac{1}{2}$ metres beneath the pavement of the church a grotto was discovered, containing the remains of seventeen bodies, which, when examined, proved to be those of eleven men and six women. There is little doubt that the bodies of these seventeen are those of the martyrs who were put to death for the faith in Carthage in 180 A.D., and of the five who suffered under Julian in 363 A.D. All these relics were venerated under the high altar of SS. Giovanni e Paolo from the beginning of the ninth century until 1688, when Cardinal Howard, during the restoration of this church, placed them in the grotto, with the intention of restoring them to their old place when the restoration had been finished. He died, however, before the completion of the work, and all memory of the whereabouts of the relics was lost ; and later on, when search was made, they

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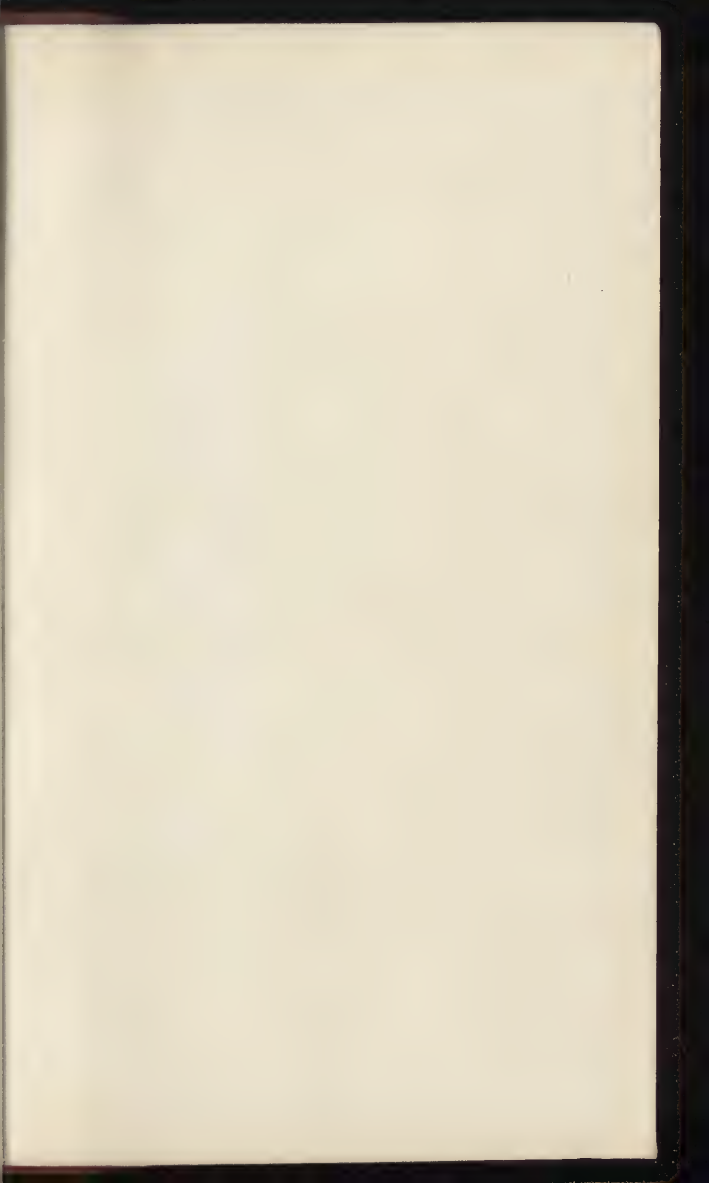
could not be found, until by mere accident they have now been happily discovered.

The continuation of the road to the arch of Dolabella and the church of S. Stefano Rotondo is equally beautiful, with bits of the aqueduct covered with ivy, and the arch itself which Nero included in his work when he was carrying the water to the Palatine. The flat piazza at the top of the hill, with rows of trees, possesses the church of S. Maria in Domnica, which is said to have been built by Leo X. from the designs of Raphael; and close by is a very pretty garden, which is generally open. On the other side is the church of S. Stefano Rotondo (p. 204).

The Capitoline Hill.—Though the Capitol was so famous during ancient times, most of the existing buildings are not older than the Middle Ages, and the great flight of steps leading up to the Aracoeli Church was built during the residence of the Popes at Avignon. This lofty part of the hill was occupied by the temple of Juno Moneta and other sacred buildings, and was called the Arx; and it was on this side that the famous Tarpeian rock stood, from which criminals and traitors were hurled.

The staircase that leads to the top of the hill was not constructed until the sixteenth century, when Charles V. made his triumphal entry into the city in 1536, after his great victory over the Moors of Tunis.

Rienzi.—On the left, near the cage in which the wolves are kept, is a statue of Rienzi, who





MARCVS·AVRELIVS·IMPERATOR

BCB

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in the last days of his life was besieged in the Municipal Palace on the Capitol by the soldiers of the nobles. When he could hold out no longer, he disguised himself, and, mixing with the crowd outside, he might have escaped, had not a private enemy recognised him. He was immediately seized, and, after an hour's hesitation, he was put to death on the platform of the palace near the statue of Marcus Aurelius. His body was dragged through the streets, and finally burnt near the mausoleum of Augustus.

The career of Rienzi is one of the saddest in history, and there can be no doubt that in the beginning of his rule he put down real evils, and that the anarchy, which was increased by the absence of the Popes at Avignon, was intolerable to every Roman. If he could have established a firm municipal administration, such as existed at Florence or Milan, he would have conferred a priceless service on his country ; but the foundation of this rule, a solid commercial middle class, was entirely wanting. The noble dream that he and his friend Petrarch conceived of a restored Rome, again to be the mistress of the world, was an impossible one, and nothing that has been said can destroy the substantial truth of Hallam's estimate of his character and career, or the truth of the words he has quoted from Corinne, who said of Rienzi and the other Romans who wished to recall the past, "*qui ont pris les souvenirs pour les espérances*".

Statue of Marcus Aurelius.—The statues

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at the top, of Castor and Pollux, were taken from Pompey's Theatre. In the square in front of the palazzo is the fine equestrian statue of Marcus Aurelius, in bronze, which stood during the Middle Ages near the Lateran, and was placed here in 1538. It is said to have been saved from destruction because people imagined it to be a statue of Constantine the Great.

Tiberius Gracchus.—The staircase on the left leads to the entrance of Aracoeli Church, by which visitors are usually admitted. Somewhere near here the Tribune Tiberius Gracchus, the first Roman who seriously understood the dangers that must come upon the State by the depopulation of the country districts, was killed. He failed, and it is generally said that the methods he took to secure his end proved fatal to the Republic. Yet we may say that the decay of the rural population in the end caused the destruction of Rome, because it was impossible to recruit the legions with soldiers who could be depended upon. Even the measures of the great Emperors who for nearly a century ruled the world with absolute sway could not save a debased city population, and the very precautions they took of training barbarians in Roman tactics and of settling foreigners in Italy in the end proved fatal to the State.

The Aracoeli.—The church took its name of Aracoeli from the ancient tradition of an altar of Augustus that the Emperor was said to have built in honour of our Lord, but of course there is no foundation for the legend.

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It was built some time in the ninth century, and is one of the few churches that possess some traces of Gothic work, though the general plan of the church closely resembles that of the basilicas, except that it has no apse.

The rows of columns are of all kinds, Corinthian, Ionic, some plain and some fluted ; many are said to have come from the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus. Some pointed Gothic windows are clearly visible outside, but they have been partially blocked up within the church. There are a great many tombs and other works of art that have been executed by the Cosmati family, including the two very interesting ambones, covered with mosaics, which are of a different shape from the older ambones in the other churches, as they are much higher and more like our pulpits and have twisted Byzantine pillars. Many of the tombs have been taken from ancient cemeteries, as for instance the sarcophagus of Luca Sarelli, father of Pope Honorius, which has a bacchanal scene carved upon it.

Gregory XIII.—In the right aisle is a fine statue of Gregory XIII. holding a key in his hand. As we look at the noble face of the Prelate we cannot but regret the great stain on his name. Though he had, it is probable, no previous knowledge of the plot of Catherine and the Guises, yet when he heard the news of the massacre of S. Bartholomew he ordered the city of Rome to be illuminated and cannon to be fired, and went himself with his cardinals

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to render thanks to God in S. Peter's. It is strange that bigotry could even in those days have so far perverted the mind of a merciful and learned man.

The rich flat roof was added by the Renaissance architects in memory of the great victory over the Turks at Lepanto, and the first chapel in the right aisle possesses some beautiful frescoes of Pinturicchio, but as a whole the church has a mediæval air from its windows and flat stone tombs and the memories of Rienzi.

The Palaces on the Capitol.—Most of the palaces¹ in the level square on the top of the hill have been so remodelled by Michael Angelo that they are really a Renaissance work and will be better described in the account of the Roman palaces, but they were originally built in the eleventh century and have been used ever since for the municipal business of Rome, although a great number of the rooms inside are used for the magnificent collection of sculpture and other classical antiquities which are so useful in creating for us a picture of ancient Rome in the days of its grandeur. The statue of Charles of Anjou in the first hall of the Senatorial Palace is interesting to the student because it is the only portrait statue in Italy executed in the Middle Ages.

The Tabularium.—Beneath the Senatorial Palace, which is built over it, are the remains of the building constructed in 78 B.C. by Q. Lutatius Catulus for the reception of the

¹ Cf. page 280.

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public archives, which are of the greatest interest, since they are the only example of Republican building existing in Rome on a large scale. The original entrance opened into the slope leading down to the Forum at the place where are now the remains of Vespasian's Temple, which blocked up this entrance when it was made. The numerous rooms inside were used for the safe keeping of State documents and are all in perfect preservation, and contain several examples of the rather ornate carving used by the Romans for the entablature of their temples. The entrance is in the small street to the right of the palace.

The ancient roofs show that many of the ideas of those who raised the Gothic vaults were known to the Romans, though most are round like those in the palaces on the Palatine.

There are some beautiful bits of columns with flowers turned over the fluting and pieces of entablature with roses. The frieze from the temple of Concord is a most elaborate one and can be seen and studied in detail, as well as another very rich one with lions' heads projecting under the cornice.

There are also a great number of those Corinthian capitals that are sometimes called Composite, because they have large volutes like those in the Ionic style in addition to their own ornaments.

The view from the mediæval tower, that may be ascended from these rooms, is perhaps the finest in Rome.

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The Aventine under the Emperors.—The Aventine, although in earlier times it was the abode of the Plebs, had become under the Emperors a region of palaces and beautiful parks, where the nobles loved to dwell. A number of famous temples were erected upon it, the most magnificent of which was that of Diana, but all have so completely perished that not a fragment of their ruin remains, although a great part of their material was used in the construction of the churches and the mediæval monasteries. The hill was completely ruined by the invasion of the Goths in 410, and the inhabitants had to flee so hurriedly, that they had not time to remove their silver and gold ornaments but only to conceal them, which they did so well that even a year or two back a valuable treasure was dug up in the land on which the Maltese Church stands.

At the Present Day.—The hill in modern times is very picturesque, as it has not been touched by the modern builder, and is full of quaint lanes and old gardens, while the view from the precipitous cliffs that overhang the Tiber is very grand. Perhaps it is best to take the tramway from the Piazza di Venezia to the Porta S. Paolo, which runs under the cliffs and turns to the left near the site of the great wharf where the marble and valuable stones were landed and stored in old times, and which is still called the Marmorata. Many of the great blocks still remain which were sent by the agents of the Emperors in Greece, Numidia

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and other places for the great temples and public buildings. When the barbarian incursions began this importation was closed, and the sculptors of the Middle Ages did not even care to use the stones that remained, but preferred the easier way of spoiling the temples and melting down the statues with which they were filled.

S. Saba and S. Prisca.—The road from the Porta S. Paolo leads past the fragments of the Servian Wall to a cross road which turns on the right to the church of *S. Saba* with its picturesque portico and some old paintings inside of the fourteenth century, which show pretty clearly the rude state of art just before the Renaissance. The path on the left leads to *S. Prisca*, which has been quite spoilt by restoration, but is interesting because it occupies the site of the great temple of Diana and perhaps of the house of Priscilla and Aquila.

S. Sabina.—Five minutes' walking brings us to the church of *S. Sabina*, one of the oldest churches in Rome, since it was founded in 425, and which still preserves some of the most interesting features of the old basilicas. The fine fluted Corinthian columns are all of white marble, and the open timber roof has not been altered; the apse possesses a curious Bishop's seat at the end on a little platform of quaintly carved wood; the columns are surmounted by small round arches, and the wall above is pierced by a clerestory by which the church was originally lighted. The right aisle has a little recess

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or chapel at the end, in which is an exquisite picture by Sassoferrato of the Madonna,¹ and there is a mosaic of the fifth century over the door of the church. Just above the colonnade is a good example of marble casing (*opus sectile*), and also an inscription about S. Sabina in mosaic on the entrance walls. The porch, which is enclosed, has a number of most interesting columns, with fluting, that runs across them in a slanting position, taken perhaps from the temple of Juno that stood near. The door leading into the church is carved in wood with raised figures most beautifully worked, and is probably a part of the original church; it is one of the only examples that exist of early wood-carving.

S. Alessio.—In the next church of S. Alessio there is little to see, although it has the courtyard that was found in front of all the ancient basilican churches. It was somewhere here that Caius, the brother of Tiberius Gracchus, was slain. He continued the work of his brother, but was by no means so clear-sighted, and his character was less pure and disinterested. His attempt to win the people to his side by a free distribution of corn was the first beginning of a system that had terrible results; it has been truly said that the collection in Rome of a vast crowd of idle men who were attracted by the possibility of food without work contributed to the decay of the rural population, whom his

¹ This picture was lately stolen by a Jew and had not been replaced in 1902 though it was recovered.

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brother had striven to revive, and was in itself a source of moral evil and of aversion to military service. The evil he began was increased by the lavish gifts of succeeding party chiefs, and grew to such an extent that not even the strongest Emperors were able to discontinue the doles.

The Maltese Church.—A little further on is the fine new church lately built by the Maltese Order, who were the rulers of that island until its conquest by Napoleon, and the English occupation that followed it. It stands in a sort of stone court, above which the great building of the new monastery opposite towers. Inside is a pretty garden, with great high walls of box, and a fine view, at the end overlooking the steep cliff, of the wharfs and the shipping in the river. The church itself is all of white marble, with recesses on either side, and many tombs and statues. The monastery opposite is the residence of the head abbot of the Benedictine Order, and is one of the finest in modern Rome.

It is worth visiting the restaurant called the Castello di Constantino, in the Via di S. Prisca, on account of the fine view from its garden ; but all the Aventine has a curious mediæval appearance, with its towers and arcades, and great monasteries, and its general deserted air.

S. Balbina.—The remaining church of the Aventine, S. Balbina, is situated close to the baths of Caracalla, and is interesting to the student of architecture because, though it was

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founded as early as the time of Gregory the Great, it has no side aisles. There is within it a fine tomb, that has been ornamented with mosaics by the Cosmati.

The Protestant Cemetery.—Close to the Porta S. Paolo, from where we started, is the Protestant cemetery, which is endeared to Englishmen because it contains the graves of Shelley and Keats, as well as the bones of other famous countrymen of theirs. It is a quiet and peaceful spot, shaded by dark trees, and surrounded in part by the walls of the town. No Protestant can wish for a more fitting resting-place than this, so near the scene of S. Paul's martyrdom, and close to the road which he traversed with his guards on the way to his death. It might, as Shelley says, make one in love with death to think that one should be buried in so sweet a place. Through an opening that has been made in the wall we may read the pathetic inscription that Keats ordered to be written on his tomb—"Here lies one whose fame was writ in water"—pathetic because the ample recognition that every one now gives to his noble poems came too late to console the poor suffering lad.

Monte Testaccio.—The curious hill that can be seen from the cemetery, with a staff upon the top, is called the *Monte Testaccio*, and is composed entirely of pieces of pottery, that were thrown here at the time when oil, wine and other merchandise were brought in earthenware jars from Africa to Rome, and landed at the wharfs on the banks of the Tiber. In later

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times wine-cellars were dug in the mound, which are still used as wine-cellars by the merchants.

The Trastevere and Janiculum.—Trastevere is still one of the most interesting parts of Rome. It is said—I do not know with what truth—that the descent of the people is purer here than elsewhere, and that some of the blood of the old Romans still runs in the veins of the common people. The district is full of curious old squares and remains of mediæval castles, and several of the most interesting churches are to be found on this side of the Tiber. Descending from the tramway soon after crossing the Ponte Garibaldi, we reach in a few minutes the church of S. Crisogono, originally built by Pope Sylvester, but unfortunately restored in the seventeenth century. It still preserves the form of an old basilica: the nave is separated from the aisles by twenty-two Ionic columns, and at the entrance of the tribune are two fine columns of porphyry. In the apse is some curious raised work, as well as mosaics. The under panels have little carved figures at the top.

Opposite this church *an old guard-room of the vigiles*, or night watch, has been found, and should certainly be visited. The vigiles were established by Augustus to act as a night police, and to prevent fires. They were part of the regular army, but had a slightly lower rank, and consisted generally of freedmen. It was their duty to act as a night watch, and to patrol the streets, which at this time were not regularly

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lighted ; and also they were trained in the various methods of preventing fires, and saving the victims in burning houses, much in the same way as the modern firemen.

This guard-room was that of the seventh cohort, which consisted, like the other six, of a hundred men. Several rooms exist, the walls of which are covered with frescoes resembling those of Pompeii. One room was probably the kitchen, and the walls are still black with smoke from the fire. In the guard-room is a most curious brick door, with sunken Corinthian pilasters in brick, surmounted by an entablature and a cornice, one of the most interesting examples of ornamental brickwork that I have ever seen. There are a number of writings on the walls by individual watchmen, giving the names of the cohort, of the captain, and of the writer himself, as well as of the reigning Emperor. There are some small baths also to be seen, but it is not certain if they belonged to the barracks or to a private house.

S. Maria.—The church of S. Maria in Trastevere is situated in a square with a fountain at the upper end of the Via della Lungaretta ; the façade with its mosaics and low porch has a curious mediæval look, but is really in part modern, although the Virgin and Child are the work of the fourteenth century. The interior, which has been often restored, still contains two rows of ancient columns taken from several old pagan temples ; until quite lately the capitals were still decorated with carved figures of the

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old gods, but they have now been removed. The apse and tribune have been less altered than the nave, and the fine mosaics of the twelfth century on the triumphal arch are worth careful attention. The magnificent pavement is inlaid with various coloured marbles and is one of the finest works of the Cosmati. The Bishop's chair in the apse was an old Senator's seat and came from Trajan's Forum, probably from the big basilica. In the sacristy is an old pagan mosaic of a duck and chickens very skilfully executed, as well as some carved stonework of the sixteenth century.

Returning to the Piazza di S. Crisogono, on the other side of it not far from the Ponte Rotto is the old *Basilica of S. Cecilia*. The body of the saint, as was shown in the chapter on the catacombs, was placed in this church which is built on the site of her house by the Pope. Some of the old ruins are still preserved, and the second chapel on the right of the transept is said to have been a chamber of her baths in which she suffered martyrdom: bits of the pipes and heating apparatus can still be seen. A great part of the church belongs to the ninth century, when it was first founded, including the mosaics in the tribune, but the columns of the nave have been enclosed in pillars and spoilt. The upper gallery resembles those in S. Agnese Fuori and S. Lorenzo, and was probably used by women. It has been suggested that this custom of separating the sexes came from the East and was due to Byzantine

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influence in Rome. In the court before the church is a very interesting basin, which was in old times often placed in the atrium for weary pilgrims to wash in before visiting the house of God. An account of the old house beneath it has already been given (p. 69).

The Janiculum is a long straight ridge, in length about a mile and a half, and it rises to the height of 300 feet above the river, to which it approaches so near in its northern half that there is only room for one long street between it and the Tiber, called from its length La Lungara. This street contains some fine palaces, among which is the *Palazzo Corsini*, one of the handsomest in Rome, and in which Queen Christina of Sweden lived and died after her conversion. It is now Government property and has a fairly good collection of antiquities and pictures, as well as some beautiful gardens which stretch up the slope of Janiculum, and from the top of which is a very fine view of Rome. The pictures of old Rome in the gallery show a time when the ruins were much more extensive than they now are.

The mediæval appearance of the Forum, with cattle feeding over it, is well brought out, and there is a most beautiful picture of Vesta's Temple, with a stone roof, and of the portico of Octavia. You can see the altered appearance of the Pantheon after it had become a Christian church. Opposite the palace in the same street is the Villa Farnesina, where are the beautiful frescoes of Raphael.



THE STATUE OF GARABALDI



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After seeing the old churches in Trastevere, the visitor may mount the hill that leads to S. Pietro in Montorio, a Renaissance church standing on the slope of the Janiculum, which contains in its first chapel on the right a fine painting of the scourging of Christ from Michael Angelo's drawings, and in the garden near a curious little classical building designed by Bramante; continuing to ascend the hill by the Via Garibaldi he soon reaches the Acqua Paolo, the fine fountain constructed in 1611 by Paul V., who repaired the ancient aqueduct of the Emperor Trajan. From here he can go straight on to the Porta S. Pancrazio and the Villa Pamphili or turn to the right along the summit of the Janiculum past the great equestrian statue of Garibaldi to S. Onofrio. This road, with its magnificent views of Rome and the mountains beyond, is a not unworthy symbol of modern Italy at its best, and the imposing figure of Garibaldi recalls to us the heroic deeds of that great man. It is difficult for us and even, I fancy, for the present generation of Italians to recall the nobility of the dreams of those who thought of an Italy free from foreign dictation and at peace with itself. The sudden and unhoped-for success that attended their efforts at the last has been the cause of a not unnatural disappointment. The younger Italians have forgotten the misery and degradation of foreign rule, and even older men do not always remember that it must take a considerable time to train a class of politicians who will forget

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the evil associations of the past. Some of the more prosperous districts are not willing to pay for the cost of the poorer parts, and almost every one grumbles at the heavy taxation that is needed to maintain the liberty that has been won. There are many signs, however, that the worst has passed, and after every allowance has been made for the exaggerated praise of his contemporaries, it is probable that history will place Garibaldi by the side of Washington and William of Orange. He was not a great general, and it was well that wiser heads than his took over the administration of the country he had gained, but he was an eminently brave man, and his invasion of Sicily was one of those great opportunities that present themselves to a man who takes his life in his hands, but which when neglected may never occur again. His character, also, was singularly pure and unselfish, and full of the most foolish and yet generous thoughts and wishes.

The long *Passeggiata Margherita* descends the slope of the Janiculum towards the Porta S. Spirito, past the church of S. Onofrio, which is celebrated for being the place where the poet Tasso is buried, and near which, in the monastery close by, he spent the last years of his life. On the side of the hill near, which was once the garden of the monastery, there still stands the remains of an oak tree that is called Tasso's oak, because the poet's favourite seat in the monastery gardens was beneath it. There is a beautiful fresco in one of the upper corridors of

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the Madonna and Child, by Leonardo da Vinci, and the room is still shown in which Tasso lived. It is very neat and plain, with no sort of decoration, as one would expect a monastery cell to be, and it contains several interesting possessions of his—an old chair, a wooden ink-stand and a curiously worked metal crucifix that Pope Clement VIII. sent to him in his last days.

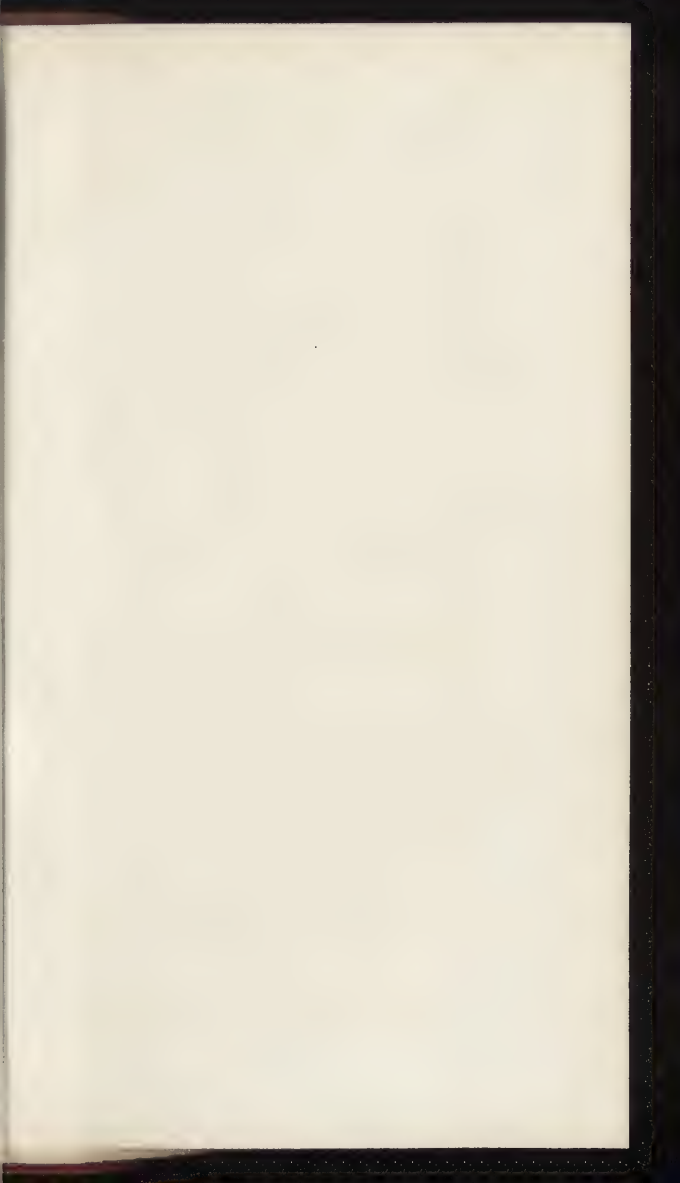
The most interesting part of the church is the portico of eight plain columns, taken, no doubt, from some old classical building, and beneath it and at the side is some beautiful work of the painter Domenichino.

There is a very good sketch of Tasso's life in a little book by the Rev. H. Macmillan, called *Roman Mosaics*. He describes in eloquent language the chequered life of the poet, his personal beauty and grace, his culture and genius, his friendship, if it was not more, with some of the noblest ladies in Italy, and on the other hand the progress of that mysterious mental disorder that for many years clouded his great mind and led to his dreary imprisonment at the convent near Ferrara.

Perhaps the last two years of his life were the happiest; the Pope gave him a fixed income and rooms in the Vatican, which he occupied until his weak health drove him to S. Onofrio; "there he sat under the shadow of the aged oak that has since become historical; and as he watched the sunset of his life, he would gaze upon the mighty ruins and the glorious river

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stretching before him with that inspired vision which creates half the beauty it beholds". It was arranged that he should receive from the Pope on the Capitol the laurel wreath that had once been given to Petrarch. It was not to be, for on the very day before that fixed for the ceremony he died. "To-morrow," he said, "I shall be beyond the reach of all earthly honour." The laurel wreath intended for the poet was laid upon his coffin, which was deposited in the neighbouring church, and many years afterwards the present tomb was erected by Pius IX.





CHAPTER XII.

S. PETER'S.

Old S. Peter's.—In the time of Constantine the Vatican district lay outside the city wall, and the site of S. Peter's was occupied by the Circus of Nero. It was in this circus that Nero inflicted the horrible tortures upon the Christians that have been described by the historian Tacitus, when men were smeared with tallow and used as torches to light the Emperor on his course round the arena. According to tradition, which is almost certainly true, S. Peter himself was put to death in the middle of the Circus two years afterwards. Constantine desired to build a church over the tomb of the Apostle, and, in doing so, he naturally made use of the outer walls of the Circus to form the foundation of a part of the new building. This was old S. Peter's, which was a basilica not unlike the present church of S. Paolo Fuori, consisting of a nave and two aisles on either side separated by four rows of columns. The central nave was a fine lofty hall (far wider than the present nave), but the height over the colonnades was so great that their effect must have been quite lost. The columns used were of all kinds, and

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seem to have been taken from many old buildings ; a few may still be seen supporting the balconies under the dome in the new church. Beyond the triumphal arch at the top of the nave, blazing with bright mosaics, the visitor saw a gallery supported by columns beneath which he entered the sanctuary which contained the tomb of the Apostle. In front of the church was a fine court or atrium in which was a fountain for purification and the tomb of the Emperor Otho II. (983).

The New Building.—As time went on this church fell into decay, especially that side that was built over the old Circus, and it was felt that a new and grander one was needed as the cathedral of the head of the church. Pope Nicholas V., who died in 1455, is said to have first thought of this, but the actual work was begun by Julius II. in 1506. The destruction of the old basilica was carried out with no regard to remains of antiquity, or even the tombs of the old Popes, which were destroyed without pity and the bodies taken elsewhere. It is said that some of the old tombs still preserved the name of the Emperor Constantine, and the gilt tiles on the roof had come from the temple of Venus and Rome near the Forum, but all was destroyed or given away. The Pope ordered Bramante, who had completed the Duomo at Florence, to prepare designs, which have been preserved, and the work was vigorously carried on for eight years, until the architect's death, when the four great piers and their arches alone had been

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finished. He intended to have them covered with a dome, not unlike that of the Pantheon, which would have been clearly visible from all parts of the church. After his death very little was done for some time, until, in 1536, the famous Antonio da Sangallo was appointed architect. We know exactly what he proposed to do, and as far as we can tell his design would have produced a finer building in many ways than the present church. He adopted the plan of a Latin cross, and he proposed to erect a fine façade with two steeples on either side, between which the dome would be clearly visible and would not disappear as it does now when you approach the entrance. He avoided the huge pilasters that now surround the outside of the church, and intended to replace them with two series of columns one over the other with a division between. The dome itself would have been far higher, and therefore more imposing, and it is said that Wren has imitated its design at S. Paul's, where the dome, even in the dingy atmosphere of London, is clearly visible from almost every point outside the church.

At the death of Sangallo in 1546 the work was entrusted to Michael Angelo, who returned to the old form of a Greek cross that had been originally proposed. He persevered in this work until his death in 1563, and lived to see the building practically finished, although Carlo Maderna again lengthened the building to a Latin cross, and constructed the present façade in 1614, which Michael Angelo had intended

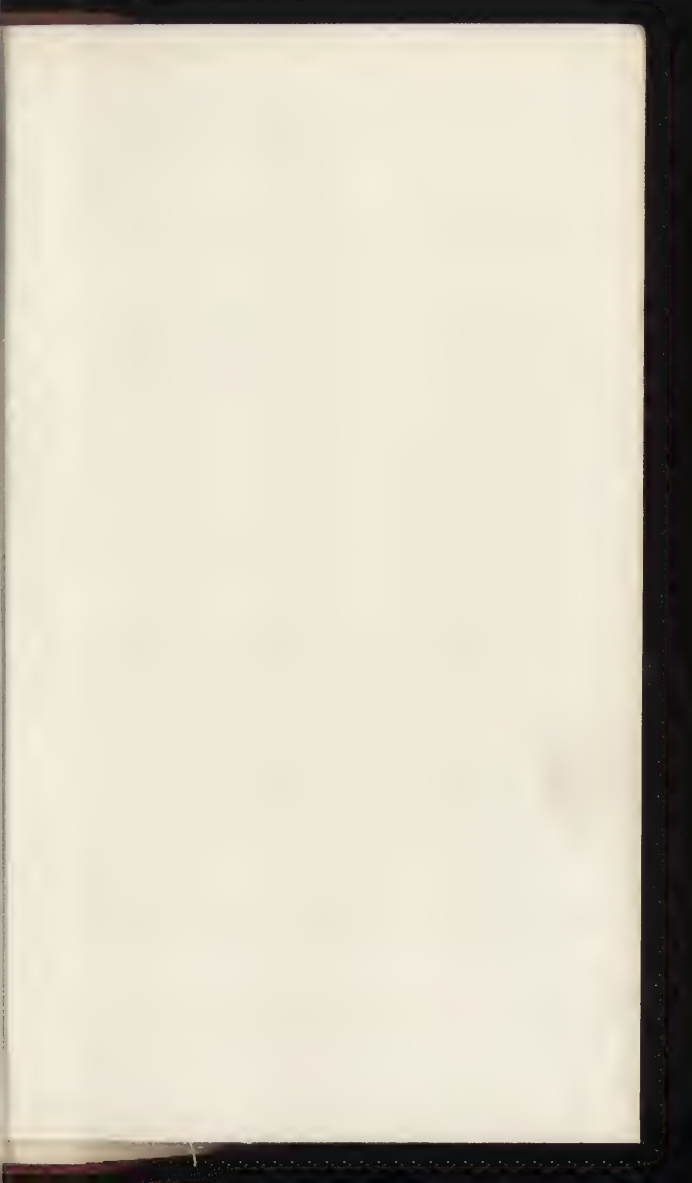
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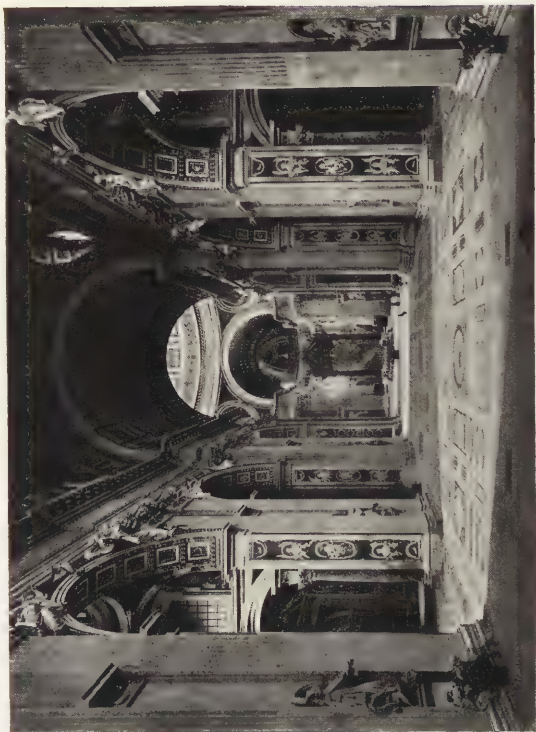
should consist of a fine portico of ten columns standing free in front of the façade and four more in the middle in front of these.

A great deal has been written about S. Peter's, and architects have, for the most part, condemned its construction, and suggested how much better it would have looked if it had been built in a different way. Many others have written as though its great size alone entitled it to the highest place among churches, a principle that would lead us to strange conclusions in other cases, yet there is something in what they say. No one can enter the vast interior of S. Peter's without feeling deeply impressed, though he will not feel that consciousness of exquisite beauty that comes to him in S. Maria Maggiore or S. Agnese Fuori.

The view, as approached from the narrow street along which the tramway runs, is a fine one. The great colonnades on either side were built for Alexander VII. by Bernini. In the centre is the obelisk that was brought from Egypt by Caligula, and placed on the spina of Nero's Circus, and which once stood near the sacristy. The fountains and the colossal stone statues have a fine effect, which is partly destroyed by the ugly mass of the Vatican Palace on the right.

The façade, whether we compare it with that of S. Paul's, at home, or with the designs of Sangallo, is a poor one, though by no means ugly in itself, and the whole external wall, with its huge Corinthian pilasters and ugly windows,





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is very disappointing. The dome is, however, very beautiful, and when it can be seen the effect is very grand, but it is badly placed, as Ferguson says, in the centre of a great flat roof, so that it can never be properly seen except at a distance. Though in itself it is very possibly the most beautiful in the world, it has very rarely as grand an effect as that of S. Paul's, which is clearly visible to any one standing just below. But the whole exterior of S. Paul's is very pleasing, and Wren has carried out the plan of Sangallo in having two orders instead of one gigantic one.

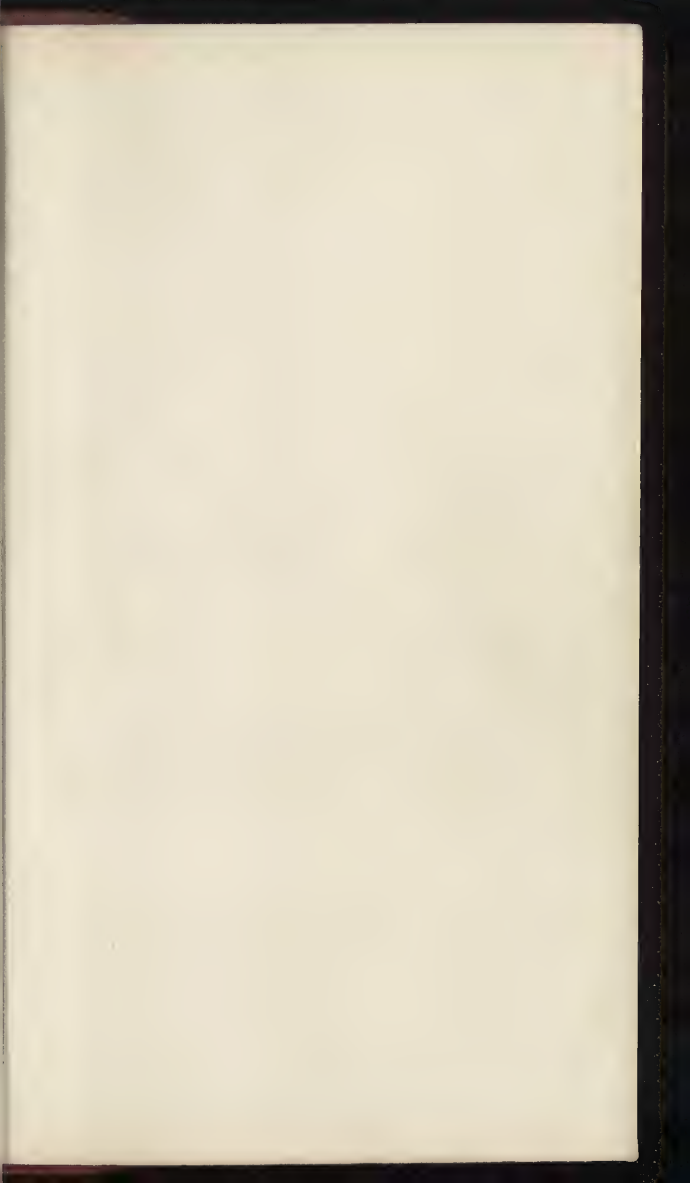
A wide flight of steps leads to the beautiful portico, with its fine roof. On the right, as you enter, is a statue of Constantine, by Bernini; and on the left, one of Charlemagne on horseback. Behind you, and facing the door of the church, is a celebrated mosaic, executed by Giotto, for the old basilica, in 1298, which has, however, been much altered. The central door of bronze was taken from old S. Peter's, and it is curious that besides scenes from sculpture, old pagan myths are carved upon it. The door on the right, always closed, is the famous Porta Santa that is never opened except in the years of Jubilee, and by the Pope himself.

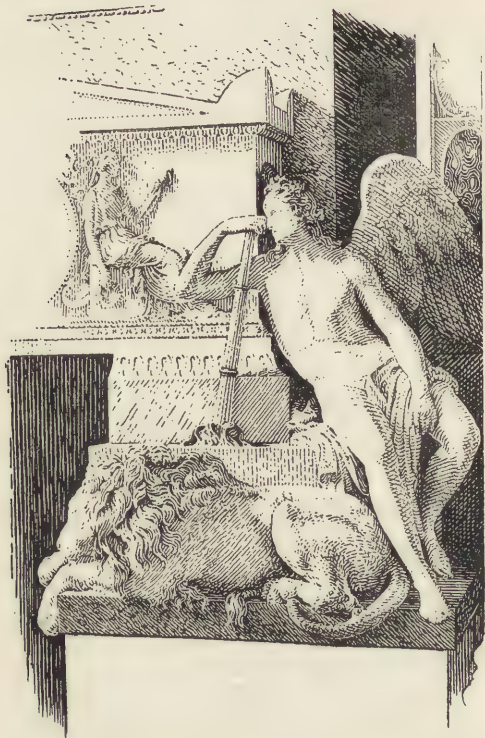
It has been said that the effect of the great pilasters inside the building is to dwarf everything else, at least in the nave, but I do not think this is so; they appear simple and grand, though the cherubs are certainly vulgar and unmeaning. The view of the beautiful dial, with

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a dove over it, as you enter, and of the roof of the apse, is very fine. If the nave had been shorter, as Michael Angelo wished, we should have been able to see the dome from the entrance, but as it is we must walk towards the high altar before we see the real grandeur of the church. The dome rises from the four great arches of the nave, transepts and choir, supported by four enormous pillars, within which, in niches, are colossal statues of the saints. You cannot help feeling the grandeur of the view down the vast aisles that form the transepts ; that from left to right is perhaps the best in the church. You see the great dome at its best, without the top, the canopy over the high altar, with the small lights burning over the beautiful kneeling figure, and at the extreme end the lovely yellow marble columns, while, through the latticed windows above, you can see the trees of the Vatican Gardens. The white marble of the nave contrasts very beautifully with the coloured panels and the dark golden roof.

Lord Macaulay has expressed, in his vigorous language, the feeling of most visitors : "In I went, and I was for a moment stunned by the magnificence and harmony of the interior. I never in my life saw, and never I suppose shall again see, anything so astonishingly beautiful. I really could have cried with pleasure. I rambled about for half an hour or more, paying little or no attention to details, but enjoying the effect of the sublime whole." The opinion of Sir James Ferguson is not very different :





FROM THE MONUMENT TO
CLEMENT XIII: BY CANOVA
IN SAINT PETER'S: ROME ..

BCB

S. PETER'S

"It thus happens that in spite of all its faults of detail, the interior of S. Peter's approaches more nearly to the sublime in architectural effect than any other which the hand of man has executed". In connection with this it is worth remarking that the interior of S. Paul's is very different from what Wren would have wished, and had he been able to carry out its designs it might have been as beautiful inside as it is glorious without. Macaulay would like to have seen the walls of S. Paul's encrusted with porphyry and verde antique, and the ceiling and dome glittering with mosaics and gold.

There is not much within S. Peter's that is worth a long examination in detail, as only a few of the statues, and still fewer of the mosaic paintings, are of very great merit.

The Monuments of S. Peter's.—Perhaps the most beautiful of the sepulchral monuments is the tomb of Clement XIII. in the right transept by Canova. The figures of the angels and the lions are inferior to nothing that has ever been carved by the old sculptors. As has been well said, its beauty is best felt when it is compared with the monuments of the seventeenth century in S. Peter's, such as the tombs of Clement X. and Benedict IV., which are close by.

The monument of Paul III., to the left of the high altar, deserves more than a passing notice. The fine stooping figure of the old Pope seems to reflect on the great events he

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had seen, the figure on the right is Prudence, on the left Justice. It is said to have been modelled by Guglielmo della Porta, under the supervision of Michael Angelo. The body of the noblest of the Popes, Gregory the Great, lies in the Cappella Clementina, close to the door of the sacristy.

The first chapel on the left, as we enter, contains the tombs of the last Stuarts, James III., Charles Edward, and his brother Cardinal York, built at the cost of George IV., who in this at least, as a Frenchman has said, was faithful to his title of the first gentleman in Europe. The large canopy over the high altar is made chiefly from the bronze tiles taken from the roof of the Pantheon, and is the work of Bernini. Beneath it is the high altar, where the Pope alone can celebrate, standing immediately over the tomb of S. Peter, in front of which is the confessio, surrounded by eighty-nine low burning lamps, and before the door is the lovely kneeling statue of Pius VI. (1785) by Canova.

Perhaps the most interesting question that the visitor to Rome will ask is whether the bones of S. Peter really rest in the tomb. No absolutely certain answer can be made, though it is possible that people exist who *can answer it*. It is certain that S. Peter was buried here, and that his sepulchre has been preserved with the greatest veneration from the earliest times. But the Vatican quarter was plundered at least twice by infidel hosts, who had no more respect for a

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Christian saint than English troops had for the Mahdi, and it cannot be certain if the priests had time to move the bones or to otherwise protect them before the invaders arrived. If it is true that the cross of gold placed on the coffin by Constantine is still there, it is possible that the bones of the Apostle still rest beneath it. A great deal has been written about the bronze statue of the Apostle that is placed against the right wall of the nave, seated on a throne and holding a key in one hand. The style of the dress and general appearance of the saint seem to show that the statue is an old Christian one of the second or third century, and it is also certain that the key is an original part, and has not been added later. The difficulty is that the shape of the key is modern, and seems to show that the whole figure is a Renaissance work ; yet, on the other hand, the rude rigour of the whole is very unlike fourteenth-century work as we see it elsewhere. Probably no certain decision is possible. In the first chapel on the right is a group, by Michael Angelo, of the dead Saviour and the Madonna, and near it a column from old S. Peter's with curious spiral folds.

The crypt of S. Peter's, which was part of the old basilica, is not easily accessible, but it is worth some trouble to see it, as it contains the tomb of the Emperor Otho II., who died in Rome, 983 A.D., and the sarcophagus of Pope Alexander VI., the wicked father of Cæsar Borgia, though his body was taken out by one

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of his successors. The pavement in the long aisle is that of the ancient church.

In the sacristy are some fine halls containing beautiful panels and pictures, the work of Giotto, and many remains of the old basilica.

CHAPTER XIII.

THE RENAISSANCE CHURCHES.

The Renaissance Churches.—The spirit of the Middle Ages had never appealed to the Romans as it did to most Western nations, and even in some degree to the northern Italians. Rome possessed numerous buildings of great beauty, and the image of the past was so constantly before her eyes, that it never occurred to her to deviate from the patterns of ancient times. When, therefore, in the fifteenth century the power of the Popes had again increased and wealth poured into Rome, the numerous buildings that priests and nobles delighted to raise all followed the classical models. In repairing churches at this time the original form was as far as possible preserved, and the domes that were added to new buildings were suggested by the daily sight of the Pantheon and the great baths of the Emperors. It has been shown that the early churches of Rome were all made after one pattern, which was in many respects a very beautiful one, but which paid no regard to the exterior. The visitor to mediæval Rome must have missed the lofty spires that had been familiar to him in his home beyond the Alps. He would

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see only a number of red-roofed houses with numerous short towers, some of them, as the campanile of S. Maria in Cosmedin, of considerable grace, but overshadowed by the huge and shapeless castles of the nobles, which filled every possible bit of ground. When in more civilised times these had been removed, the architects were no longer content to beautify the inside of their churches, but sought for something that would take the place of the Gothic spire. They found this in the dome that was suggested to them by their study of the ancient remains, then far more perfect than at the present day, of old Rome.

There can be no doubt that a dome adds very greatly to the beauty of a church ; it not only marks the sacred character of a building, but raises it well above the houses, and so gives it that dignity that size alone can give in a town. The Doric temples that look so beautiful at Pesto and on the hills at Girgenti would look poor and mean in a row of lofty houses. It must, however, be remembered that if the exteriors of many ancient churches are bad it was not intended that they should be seen, and in many cases houses and palaces are built into their sides. Naturally, therefore, the Italians, when they ceased to lavish all their care on the interiors, first of all gave their attention to the front where the church faced the street. Some of the façades of the fifteenth century or later are very elegant, and those in particular that were built by Palladio at Venice are very beauti-

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ful ; but even in Rome one or two, especially the front of the Gesù, are very well done. As Ferguson says, there were great difficulties in constructing a purely classical façade, which the taste of the time required. It is necessary to make the centre of the church higher than the roof of the aisles, so as to give dignity without making the columns too high or by having two rows of columns one over the other, and so suggesting the idea of two storeys, when in reality there is only one. This was done sometimes by placing the central columns on pedestals and those of the aisles on the ground, but in very many cases the attempt failed, and the façade is poor and weak. The visitor can easily judge for himself by observing the outside of the larger Renaissance churches, and by comparing them with those at Venice, and with S. Paul's and other English churches.

The *interior* of their churches continued to be in every age the chief care of the Romans, and when they had given up the beautiful rows of marble columns separating the nave and aisles it became even more necessary than before to fill the church with beautiful monuments and paintings. Among the Italians the arts of painting and sculpture have never been subordinate to that of architecture ; this partly arose no doubt from the climate, which is so much more favourable than our own to the preservation of beautiful pictures and statues, but also from the character of the race, which has always loved colour and working in marble

and bronze. The ancient temples were filled with all kinds of beautiful objects and probably also with frescoes, and this custom, though it was checked by the opinions of the early Christians, never died out, and revived in full force in the fifteenth century.

S. Giovanni in Laterano.—The noblest example of a Renaissance church in Rome is certainly the magnificent pile of *S. Giovanni in Laterano*, which still preserves the title of the mother of all churches, because when the palace of the Lateran was given by Constantine to the Popes, the first chapel of the Bishop of Rome was established there. Very little of the original building remains, and most of the present church is the work of the eighteenth century, but the magnificent decorations and the style of the architecture bring before us in their best form the merits of the Renaissance builders.

In constructing their façades the architects of *S. Peter's* and *S. Giovanni* preferred columns of great height, while Wren has not hesitated to place a second order over the first in the western front of *S. Paul's*. The façade of *S. Peter's* is generally admitted to be poor, but the view of *S. Giovanni* as you approach from the gate in the town walls is very striking and impressive, and the visitor will not think that the balustrade on the top is too high, though the statues are certainly too big when you stand beneath them. The façade was constructed in 1743 by Galilei, and is thus later than Wren's, which is probably the finest classical front that

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exists, though it is perhaps dangerous to use the double row of columns as he has done. Yet the proportion of the whole is extremely pleasing, and his two towers add greatly to its beauty, while the dome is clearly visible between them.

The approach to S. Giovanni is very fine, and the mosaic picture in the open air on the right gives an old-world appearance to the scene. The mosaics are copies from the old ones from the Lateran Palace, and represent Christ sending His disciples to preach the Word, and distributing His powers between the Popes and Emperors. The picture recalls to us, as Bryce points out, the long contest of the Middle Ages between the spiritual and temporal rulers of the world.

The entrance porch is almost as fine as that of S. Peter's. From the gallery above the Pope used to give his blessing on Ascension Day, and one of the doors of the church is only opened in years of Jubilee. The statue on the left bearing a lance is that of the Emperor Constantine, and was found in his baths on the Esquiline.

The church itself was erected on the site of an old palace of the Lateran about the tenth century, and was never entirely rebuilt, though it is very difficult to distinguish what remains of the old building. The pillars in the nave were constructed in the seventeenth century, and partly enclose the ancient columns of the old basilica. The ceiling, which is said to have been designed by Michael Angelo, is flat, and highly ornamented, and its effect is very fine ;

but the nave as a whole is not good. The Gothic cupola (1367) is poor, and spoils the view of the apse ; but when you have passed it, and entered the presbytery, you are quite dazzled by the blaze of colour. No one can refuse to recognise the splendour of the scene before him, and to admire the profusion of bright marbles, beautiful frescoes and coloured mosaics. The transept of the Lateran is the work of Clement VIII., and to him we owe the magnificent altar of the sacrament, with its old columns of gilded bronze, which are said to have been brought from Jerusalem ; and opposite to it, at the very end of the east transept, are two very beautiful columns of yellow marble. The apse, which has been moved back to give more room, contains some beautiful mosaics by Torriti (1290) ; and the choir in front, with its highly ornamented roof and panelled sides, is perhaps the most richly decorated interior in the world. The roof of the presbytery is very fine. The mosaic picture of our Lord above the triumphal arch is said to be of the time of Constantine, and the tablets on the walls bring before our eyes the building of the church. The chapel on the left has some fine carved wood stalls, but the carving is not equal to that in the Venetian churches. The view of the nave from the apse is good, and the little fresco figures carved in stone look well, and its very plainness contrasts in a pleasing manner with the grandeur of the upper part of the church.

The tomb of Sylvester II., who is said by the





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chronicler to have obtained the Papacy by the aid of the devil, and which was reported to send forth drops of water even in dry weather, has been destroyed, but two of the most famous Popes still rest in this church—Boniface VIII., the antagonist of our Edward I., and of his rival, Philip of France, the last Pope who seriously claimed the right of deposing the great temporal sovereigns, and of whom it was said that he “entered like a fox, reigned like a lion, and died like a dog”; and Clement VIII., the clever, laborious, ascetic prelate, who received Henry IV. into the Catholic Church, and by his aid added Ferrara to the dominions of the Popes.

The Cloisters.—The visitor should not neglect to make a careful inspection of the beautiful cloisters, which have been carefully restored by the present Pope. The entrance is by a door near the last chapel in the left aisle, which the attendant will open. There is nothing of the kind more beautiful. “These little arcades supported by twisted columns and adorned with mosaics are as graceful and pleasing as anything of that class found elsewhere—the entablature, which is the ruling feature in the design, retains the classical arrangement in almost every detail and in such purity as could only be found in Rome in the twelfth century, when the cloister appears to have been erected” (Ferguson, vol. ii., p. 389).

This building has been attributed to the Cosmati, but is really, as Lanciani says, the work of Pietro Vassalletto and his son. Their

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school was next in importance to that of the Cosmati in the Middle Ages, and it may be added that both schools obtained their materials in the same way by the destruction of the old classical monuments and works of art.

The vaulted passage that is entered by a door in the presbytery is a relic of the old church of the tenth century, and contains an ancient altar and a kneeling statue of Nicholas IV.; this part of the building is all that remains of the old basilica except a few bits here and there. The façade on this side was added by Fontana in 1586 and is quaint and elegant; it looks upon the great obelisk of red granite, which was brought from the Circus Maximus, where Constantine had placed it in 357.

S. Agostino.—The first domed church was *S. Agostino*, which is now the fashionable church of Rome; it was built like so many other churches of the time by Pintelli, in 1479, and its façade has been much admired, though perhaps it cannot be considered equal to those of similar churches at Venice.

The nave is separated from the aisles by square pilasters, which are not becoming, and the half columns in front of some of them are meaningless, as they support nothing, but they were suggested no doubt by similar columns in the great baths.

The church is always full of votive offerings, some of great value and others quite simple, and it is well worth a visit, since it is always crowded with worshippers.

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S. Maria della Pace.—Not far from S. Agostino is another church of Pintelli, *S. Maria della Pace*. You enter a small nave with recesses in the side for paintings and many people visit this church to see the celebrated picture of the sibyls by Raphael, which is over the first chapel on the right; the Persian sibyl has a very sweet face and the old face on the right is very impressive. There is also some fine stonework to be seen and an altar-piece by Peruzzi in the second chapel on the left. The nave opens into an octagonal building surmounted by a dome that is lighted by windows in the drum. The church is built on the site of a temple of Peace and there is still existing in the wall of the church an old door and an inscription, "Templum Pacis". Perhaps there are few who will care for the cloister, although it is the work of Bramante; the lower part is very stiff and without beauty, but the reclining figure on the tomb by the right wall redeems it a little.

S. Maria dell' Anima.—Close to this church is *S. Maria dell' Anima*, which is the German national church, and was erected in 1500 and the succeeding years; the façade is said to be the work of Sangallo, and should be carefully compared with other façades of the same time. There is nothing remarkable in the architecture of the interior, but in the choir is a fine monument of Adrian VI., the tutor of the Emperor Charles V., who was chosen in 1522 to succeed the magnificent Leo X. No better man has ever been Pope; he lived as frugally and simply

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in the Vatican as he had in his rooms at Louvain ; he was fully conscious that abuses existed in the Church, and he strove with all his might to correct them, but the times were evil and he was unaccustomed to business. His sorrowful reflection of how much depends on the times in which even the best men live has been inscribed on his tomb.

S. Agnese.—In the Piazza Navona close by is a church dedicated to S. Agnes which is worth noticing on account of the curious ugliness of its façade by Borromini, which is said by the wits to have so grieved the statue of the Nile on the fountain that he covered his head lest he should see it.

S. Maria del Popolo.—Perhaps the best example of the use made by the Renaissance builders of churches to display works of art may be found in *S. Maria del Popolo*, near the gate of the same name. The site on which it stands recalls the names of two very different men, the Emperor Nero and the great author of the Reformation, Martin Luther. It is said that after Nero's death a few friends and the woman who had loved him obtained permission from the Emperor Nerva to lay his ashes in the family tomb of the Domitii at the edge of the Pincian Hill. His spirit, however, could not rest, and, as the people believed, haunted the neighbourhood of the gate until Pope Sixtus IV. built the church.

It was in the monastery close by that Luther lived during his stay in Rome. Not even a

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Roman Catholic can doubt that at this time there was much in the religious state of Rome to kindle the indignation of a righteous man, and Luther was sincerely and deeply religious. A large number of the priests did not conceal their disbelief in the fundamental doctrines of the Church. "The people," says Ranke, "had sunk into an almost heathen superstition and expected their salvation from mere ceremonial observances but half understood ; the higher classes were manifesting opinions of a tendency altogether anti-religious. At the very moment when the sacrifice of the mass was completed did the priests utter blasphemous words in denial of its reality." It was the spectacle of a society like this that kindled the reforming zeal of the young ascetic monk, and prepared his mind for his great protest against the sale of indulgences. Without going into the controversies of religion it may be pointed out that the revival of Ignatius Loyola and other great Catholic leaders goes far to justify Luther in much that he said and did.

The present church was originally erected by Pintelli about 1480, and though it was restored by Bernini in the seventeenth century it has suffered far less than many other churches. The arrangement of the great pillars that support the roof is a favourite one with the architects of those times, and the general effect is good. The church is simply full of tombs and statues in every possible place ; there are even carved figures on the pavement, which are rarely seen in Rome. Some of the recumbent figures on

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the sarcophagi have faces of exquisite beauty, and the stone canopies above them are extremely graceful. Many of the tombs here are the work of Mino da Fiesole, who was in Rome towards the end of the century, and who also constructed the cloisters of S. Maria di Monserrato.

The first chapel to the right has some beautiful paintings by Pinturicchio, and the second and third also contain some of his work ; the ceiling of the choir is his also, while the second chapel on the left (Chigi) contains a most interesting mosaic designed by Raphael in which Jehovah is surrounded by the great pagan deities, and there is a sculptured figure of Jonah which is the only example that exists of work in stone by that great man. Among the fine tombs that fill the church may be mentioned that of Cardinal Podocatharus in the right transept, and those of Cardinals Basso and Sforza in the choir, by Sansovino, but many others are worth noticing and almost all are of fifteenth or sixteenth century work. The ornaments of the dome and church are beautiful examples of the earlier Renaissance.

SS. Apostoli.—The church of SS. Apostoli, near the Piazza Colonna, was restored by Pintelli, and the fine façade is his work, but the rest of the church was rebuilt in 1702. The ancient eagle on the right of the portico was taken from Trajan's baths. The monuments of the fifteenth century in the choir may be compared with the tomb of Clement XIV. by Canova, and the statue of Volpato by the same sculptor.

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In all these churches it will be noticed that big columns are preferred to a number of small ones, and though this arrangement is a good one for the display of sculpture and painting, it has the effect of making the interior appear smaller than it really is. The point would seem to be whether the architect should be supreme or not. Gothic churches are full of small parts constantly repeated that give an idea of solemnity and also of size, but it must be confessed that they are not always fitted to display monuments to advantage, and it is possible that some people think that even Westminster Abbey would look better if most of the monuments were taken away. This fondness for making all the details big and simple increased greatly, for the later Renaissance works lack altogether the variety and picturesqueness of much of the earlier. Bramante would not have employed the enormous pilasters that Michael Angelo used in S. Peter's, and he copied rather the architecture of the Colosseum, placing arch over arch and using small pieces and shafts. In the later churches the interiors are simply regarded as scenes for the display of painting and colour of all kinds, and it must be confessed that there is often a warmth and grandeur that are certainly attractive.

The Gesù Church.—In the wide modern Corso Vittorio Emanuele are three churches of the later fifteenth century which were erected at great cost and with much magnificence, but which in spite of their size, which is always effective, are at any rate to northern eyes dis-

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appointing. The exteriors are less so, and the façade of the great church of the Jesuits, which is the work of Giacomo della Porta in 1575, is by no means a bad one. The two columns on each side of the porch and their entablature are not too big, and the balcony above has a pleasing effect; the classical details are used with much good taste.

Ignatius Loyola.—But, whatever we may think of this, there can be no question of the great interest that this church kindles. Beneath the altar in the left transept there reposes the body of Ignatius Loyola, the founder of the Jesuit Order. There can be little doubt that it is owing to the work of this great man that the principles of the Reformation did not penetrate to the south of Europe. It is true that a conviction already existed in the Church that a reform in the life of the clergy was deeply needed, but it was the order of Ges.^a who organised the earnest and religious Catholics, and supplied the Popes, who were no longer merely lovers of art and beautiful things, with the support that they needed to save what remained of the Catholic world. Ignatius Loyola was not only one of those men who have so often impressed those who surrounded them by the force of their beliefs and the unselfishness of their characters, but he had also the very highest gifts of organising; and the foundation of the Jesuit Order, with the great rule of perfect obedience which he made its guide, was at that crisis one of the acts that, like a few great battles, have

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turned the course of the world's history. As Macaulay has said, the Jesuits fought the battle of their Church with intense and stubborn devotion to a single end, and an entire disregard of all private ties and interests, with perfect discipline and with dauntless courage.

Most of the paintings in the church are by Baciccio, and are very well done, especially those on the roof of the nave. The walls are covered with many coloured marbles, and there are several columns of the rare and valuable yellow marble and of gilded bronze, many of which were taken from the baths of Titus by Cardinal Farnese. It will be noticed that amid all this splendour and brightness there are no stained windows, as all Renaissance builders felt that plain glass is better for displaying marble and pictures.

The rooms once occupied by Loyola are close to the church, and may be entered at No. 1A, Via di Aracoeli (Monday, Wednesday and Friday, 9-11).

S. Andrea della Valle.—A little lower down the street, going towards S. Angelo, is the domed church of *S. Andrea della Valle*, erected in 1591 on the site of the magnificent group of buildings placed there by Pompey the Great.

The Murder of Cæsar.—The traveller is still shown the spot where it is said that Cæsar was murdered in the Curia attached to Pompey's Theatre. However this may be, the place cannot be far off. The great dictator had been warned not to attend the Senate that day, but he pro-

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bably thought that the presence of so many of his friends would protect him in any case from attack. As soon as he took his seat he was surrounded by the conspirators, and Tillius Cimber in particular begged for the pardon of his exiled brother. When Cæsar was unwilling to grant this, Cimber took hold of his toga, and some one else stabbed him in the neck. Cæsar at first resisted, but when the others fell upon him he covered his head with his gown, and fell dead at the foot of Pompey's statue, which was drenched with his blood.

The church has a certain grandeur from the great open space within, but the huge border round the walls is ugly, and the arches are so high above the projecting cornice that the dome appears small for the church, and it is almost impossible to see the fine picture of the Evangelists by Domenichino, just below. His frescoes from the life of S. Andrew, over the vault of the apse, are equally good ; and there are two interesting tombs of Popes brought here from old S. Peter's, and some fine gilt pillars in the right transept.

The Chiesa Nuova.—Still further down, on the opposite side of the road, is the Chiesa Nuova, built by Gregory XIII. in 1550. There is a great nave and an apse, with an altar at the extreme end, which is not usual in Rome. Above the altar is a fine picture by Rubens of the Virgin surrounded by saints, and there are four columns of Porta Santa. The whole church is a blaze of gold and bright decorations, and

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the piazza outside is gay and pretty in the spring with green leaves and purple blossoms. The monastery close by contains the cell of S. Filippo Neri, at whose cost the church was erected ; and a number of interesting relics of the saint, including his girdle of rope and his crucifix.

It would be impossible to describe here the numerous Renaissance churches that are to be found in Rome, but there is hardly one of them that does not possess some special interest of its own.

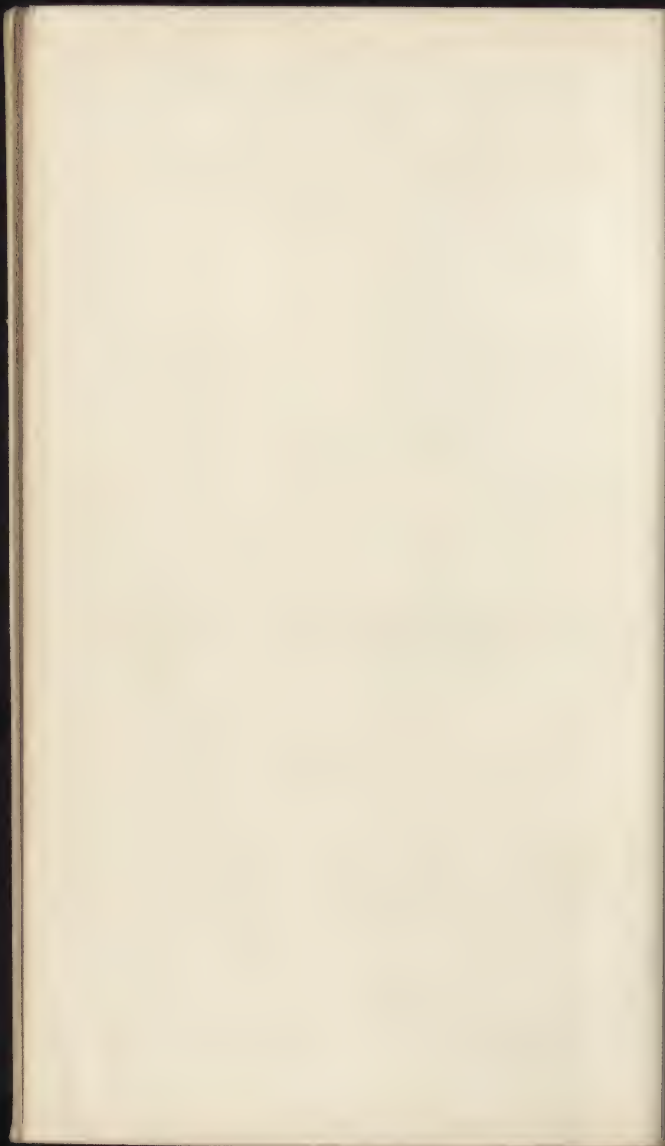
Eighteenth Century Restoration.—It is different with much of the work of the eighteenth century. The sense of beauty seems to have quite disappeared, and just as the restorers in England destroyed the carved oak seats in order to erect the hideous high pews that we may recollect twenty years ago, and covered the frescoes with whitewash, the Romans of those days despised alike the beautiful columns of the basilicas and the paintings of the Renaissance. "The columns of the nave were walled up and concealed in thick pilasters of whitewashed masonry ; the inscribed or sculptured marble slabs and the cosmatesque pavements were taken up, and replaced by brick floors." Big windows were inserted to give light, and clumsy vaults often replaced the beautiful roofs of cedar wood. Outside, ugly façades were often added, with no sense of fitness or taste, as may be seen in the churches of S. Marcello and S. Maria in Via Lata in the Corso. S. Croce was turned into one of the ugliest of churches, and many others were half spoilt.

CHAPTER XIV.

THE PALACES OF THE POPES AND NOBLES.

The Lateran.—After his conversion the Emperor Constantine, although he still allowed the followers of the old gods to worship as they pleased, was anxious to ensure the dignity of the Christian priests. He not only assigned the revenues of great estates in Sicily and elsewhere for their support, but gave the ancient palace of the Lateran as a residence for the Bishops of Rome. It had formerly belonged to the great family of the Laterani, but had lately become an Imperial possession and was thus at the disposal of Constantine. Here the Popes took up their abode, and with the exception of a short time during which they resided at the palace of Caligula on the Palatine they used it as their principal palace until they left Rome for Avignon in 1305.

A great part of the palace was rebuilt in 1200, and this interesting mediæval work was preserved until 1586, when Sextus V. destroyed it entirely with all its memorials of the old Popes and its beautiful mosaics, and erected in its place the present palace, the work of the architect Fontana.



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The only part of the old palace that is still preserved is the Sancta Sanctorum Chapel at the top of the flight of steps called the *Scala Santa*. The marble steps now covered with wood are said to have been brought from Jerusalem from the house of Pontius Pilate, and they may only be ascended on the knees. The chapel itself was used by the Popes and contains some old mosaics and an old portrait of Christ, but it is difficult to gain admission.

At different times several of the old courts of the palace of the Laterani have been discovered underneath the modern buildings decorated with mosaic paintings and a bit of the wall of the second century is included in the town wall of Aurelian.

This new palace was never used as a residence, and was made by the later Popes into a museum of Christian and pagan antiquities.

The Vatican.—It is probable that the Popes had a house near S. Peter's in very early times, and this was rebuilt by Innocent III. in 1200 ; but it was not till after the return from Avignon in 1377 that the Vatican became their chief residence, and most of the present palace is the work of Renaissance architects.

Nicholas V. seems to have had a sincere wish to improve Rome, and he first conceived the idea of a vast palace that should be the headquarters of the Christian Church, and should by its grandeur impress the imagination of the pilgrims who came to S. Peter's.

He received with kindness the great scholars

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who fled from Constantinople after its capture by the Turks, and helped to spread that taste for classical learning and art that was soon to become so powerful.

He began that part of the Vatican that was called the Torre Borgia after the name of Alexander VI., who occupied the apartments that now bear his name and which are now thrown open to the public. They give a vivid idea of the later and more magnificent houses in the Middle Ages; the walls are decorated by paintings of Pinturicchio which should be compared with those in S. Maria del Popolo.

Probably the names of Alexander VI. and his still more notorious son Cæsar Borgia will always be regarded with horror. Yet the Pope himself, if we put out of sight the high office that he held, was no worse than the other great ecclesiastics of the time. He had an untiring love of life and pleasure, and his palace was filled with everything that was beautiful, with fair women and music and feasting. Cæsar was probably guilty of worse deeds, yet there is no evidence of many things alleged against him, and it was against his principles to commit useless crimes. After his father's death he seized the castle of S. Angelo and made terms with the new Pope. Then, leaving Rome for ever, he died fighting for his Spanish countrymen. Strange as it seems, both he and his father were believers in Christianity.

The Sistine Chapel.—It was in 1473 that the celebrated Sistine Chapel was erected by



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Sextus IV., the Pope who began the restoration of the old aqueducts.

It is entirely without architectural merit and is interesting only on account of the beautiful paintings it contains, which are perhaps the finest that have ever been attempted on so large a scale, but which it must be confessed are not exhibited to advantage in a building so badly lighted. The roof is merely a plaster ceiling carried across from the sides, and the round windows are poor in themselves and do not help to set forth the paintings.

The builders have boldly assumed that the painting is a higher and more excellent art than architecture, and they have built the chapel to receive the paintings. "It will probably be admitted," says Ferguson, "that a wall divided into compartments and adorned by paintings designed for the place they occupy is a higher class of ornamentation than can be obtained by any mere structural form." It cannot be denied that even from this point of view the flat ceiling is a mistake, as it is very difficult to see the painting upon it, especially in the dim light.

The walls are well suited for frescoes, as in the lower part they are not divided by any windows or pillars, and we are able to see the pictures as a whole, which is impossible when they are cut up by architectural ornaments.

Michael Angelo.—The lowest part of the sides was once hung by Raphael's tapestry, but is now plain; the upper part, however, is covered with frescoes by great masters, while

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the ceiling contains the famous scenes from the Bible painted by Michael Angelo.

It is curious that this great man was very reluctant to undertake the work, as he had no practice in colouring, and knew the difficulty of painting a vault ; and it is said that he put forward Raphael as the proper man, since this was not, he said, his trade. Michael Angelo also was not one of those men who readily employ the services of assistants, and thus he was compelled to paint almost the whole surface himself. There is a very fine plan of the whole design in Symond's *Life of Michael Angelo*, vol. i., and the author has pointed out the peculiar merits of the conception, as well as its faults. He sought invariably not for beauty or grace, but for character, as displayed in type and attitude alike. No painter has been more successful in the aim he always kept in view, but his very success has made his paintings less popular than those of artists who were far inferior to him in originality and in power of drawing. He succeeded in completing this great work in spite of its difficulty and the intrigues of Bramante and others, who wished to supersede him ; and when it was finished he wrote simply, " I have finished the chapel which I painted. The Pope is very well satisfied, but other things do not happen as I wish." His life is worth reading, if it were only for the picture it contains of a great man struggling against difficulties that would have been too heavy for any ordinary man.

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Bramante.—Michael Angelo was not at this time known as an architect, and Julius II. entrusted Bramante with the great work of joining the Sistine Chapel with the garden house that is now known as the Belvidere, and forms part of the museum of sculpture.

Bramante also had come to Rome from northern Italy, and had very rapidly acquired a great reputation. No one studied the great classical remains with more enthusiasm, and it is said that he spent many months in observing and drawing the buildings of Hadrian's villa near Tivoli, which were then far more complete than they are now.

Bramante was not content merely to copy the columns and arches that he saw, but he employed them with great taste in new combinations, and adapted them to the needs of his time. The work that he undertook at the Vatican was not easy. He proposed to connect the two buildings with long wings, between which he intended to place a garden. As the ground that had to be crossed was uneven, it was necessary to make the part near the Belvidere into a terrace, approached from the lower part of the garden by a flight of steps. This plan was carried out, and at the lower end, near S. Peter's, he placed a fine semicircular alcove, and at the other he formed the Belvidere itself into similar form. Unfortunately, he was compelled by the Pope to build so hurriedly that a great part of his work had to be reconstructed, and in later times the fine court was divided into two by the new

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wings of the library, at the point where the terrace began, which has quite spoilt the effect of the great alcoves, which now look upon courts that are much too small. The part nearest S. Peter's is called the Cortile di Belvedere, and the raised terrace near the Belvedere the Giardino della Pigna.

Both these gardens, as you look from the windows of the library and galleries, have a neglected appearance.

Raphael.—After seeing the Sistine Chapel, where the Pope usually says mass, we may visit the Sala Regia, which was originally an entrance hall to it, and the Cappella Paolina, both works of Sangallo, and then, passing up the staircase, go through the series of rooms named after Raphael, who decorated them with frescoes; and then on to his Loggie, which look into the other great court of the Vatican, the Cortile di S. Damaso, which was originally designed by Bramante. This suite of rooms were the living rooms of the Papal Court in the days of Julius II. and Leo X. It was at *this time* that the Papacy attained its greatest power, at least in temporal matters, and it was then the most magnificent Court in Europe, and was frequented by the greatest number of great men that had ever been collected in Rome since the time of Augustus. The great pictures designed by Raphael, that may still be seen in these halls, are all intended to set forth the greatness of the Popes. The frescoes in the Stanza d' Eliodoro may be specially noted in which the great con-

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queror Attila is repelled from Rome by Leo I., and the picture of Julius II. on his throne watching the expulsion of Heliodorus from Jerusalem. Perhaps the best of his paintings is the *Disputa del Sacramento* in the *Stanza della Segnatura*. "In simple beauty and severe dignity, in energy and individual character, this work has never been surpassed."

It was the good fortune of these two Popes to be able to command the services of men of the greatest ability in art at a time when wealth was pouring into their treasury, and the combination of these powers has produced the glorious results that we see in S. Peter's and the interior of the Vatican.

Leo X.—Leo X. was a man who possessed all the qualities that make a great king, and if he lacked those that make a great pontiff, at least he did nothing to disgrace his spiritual office. No man has ever seen more clearly facts as they really are, and no one knew better than he when it was necessary to yield to superior power. He was, therefore, fortunate to the very end of his life, yet there is something in his death very typical of the great change that was to come after his death. He had just heard of a great success of his allies at Milan, and he is said to have fallen ill in the very moment of his triumph, and the end came so suddenly that he had no time to receive the last rites of the Church. A few years afterwards and these very halls were plundered by a crowd of rough soldiers, the servants of the same prince

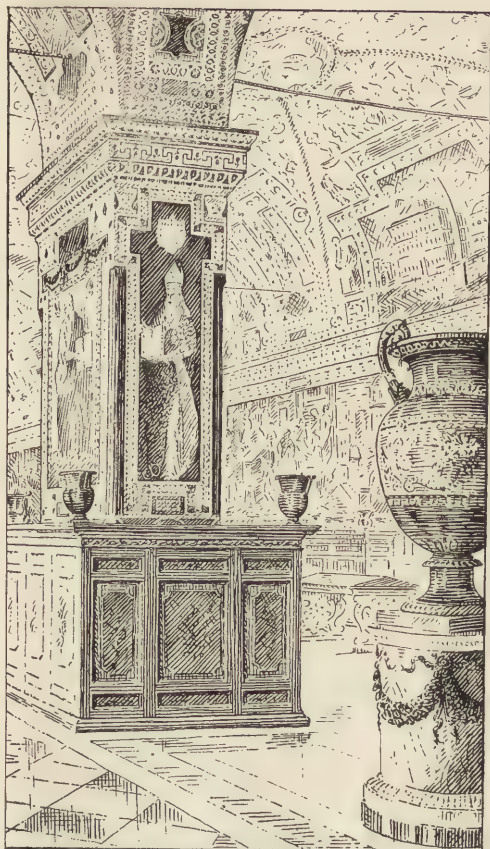
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who had captured Milan, and many of the priceless works of Raphael were injured by the Spaniards who had followed Bourbon to the sack of Rome.

The open colonnades that look into the courtyard were decorated by the pupils of Raphael under his guidance, and these contain a great number of exquisitely beautiful details, many of which are copied or imitated from the carving on the triumphal arches and the column of Trajan. For some years the arcades have been closed with glass to protect the frescoes from the wet.

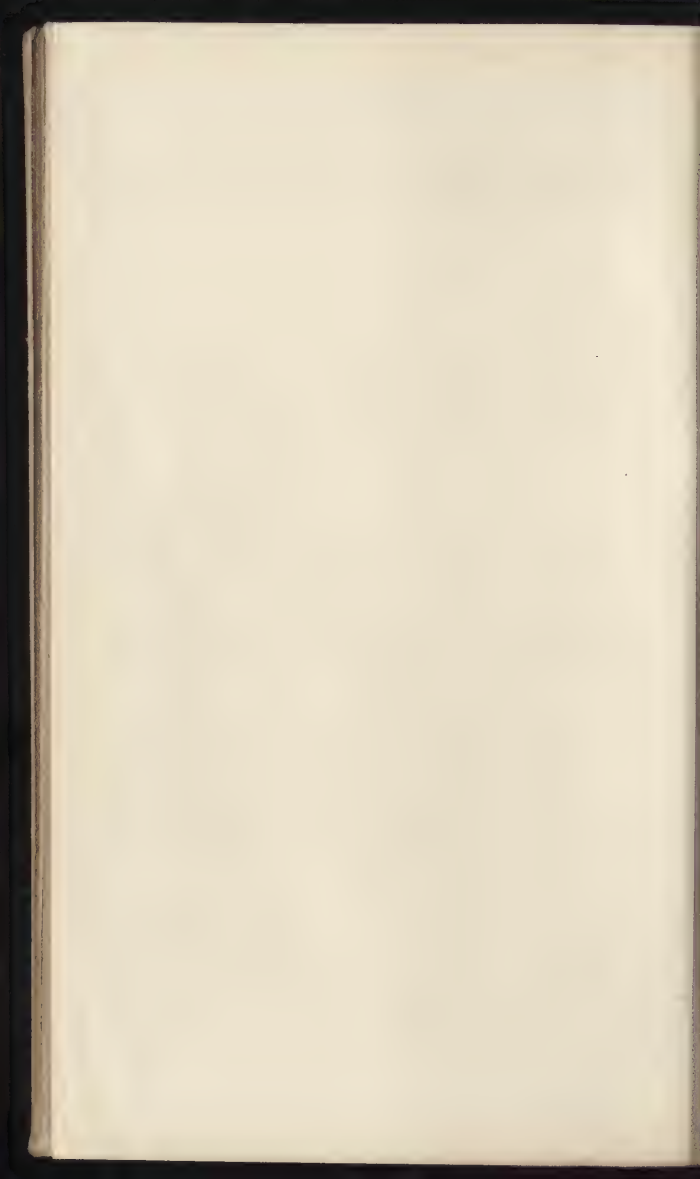
All these parts of the Vatican and the picture gallery, which has the rare excellence of having within it only pictures of the very first quality, are visited from the right of the colonnade of S. Peter at the entrance where the Swiss Guard are posted. The great collection of sculpture and the library are entered by the entrance on the west side, that can only be reached by driving right round S. Peter's. Part of the sculpture is placed in the old Belvedere and in a series of halls that have been built by later Popes and is of the utmost value to those who wish to realise the beauty and appearance of ancient Rome.

The Library.—The library was built in 1588 by Sextus V. and contains an enormous number of valuable manuscripts and State Papers of the Popes that could throw a new light on many historical events if they were published, as well as a countless number of beautiful and interesting objects.



In the Vatican Library

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PALACES OF POPES AND NOBLES

"I had walked," says Macaulay, "a hundred feet through the library without the faintest notion that I was in it. No books, no shelves were visible. All was light and brilliant; nothing but white and red and gold, blazing arabesques and paintings on ceiling and wall. The books and manuscripts are all in low wooden cases ranged round the wall; and as these cases are painted in light colours they harmonise with the gay aspect of everything around them and might be supposed to contain musical instruments, masquerade dresses or china for the dances and suppers for which the apartments seem to be meant."

You pass through room after room in one long passage, splendid halls ornamented with pillars and lovely vases and marble floors, very like, it is probable, the rooms in the great palaces on the Palatine in the time of Hadrian.

One portion of the corridor has stained glass windows and a pavement of coloured marble and is furnished with dark grey chairs, while another to the right of this has old Roman frescoes and mosaic paintings taken from Ostia in 1867 and an old house in the Via Graziosa in 1833, including the famous picture of the wedding of Thetis, called the Nozze Aldobrandini, from the family who once possessed it.

On the left is the great hall constructed by Fontana that intersects the courtyard of Bramante. It has a fine ceiling in two semi-circles and is filled with marble statues and beautiful objects of every kind.

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Returning to the long passage you have a view at the end of a beautiful window picture of Pius IX. on his throne with S. Peter on his right, though it is spoilt to some degree by the grating in front.

All the rooms are filled with pieces of beautiful furniture, mosaic tables, carved ivory figures, the presents of great men and foreign potentates to the Pope. The view, too, from some of the windows of the courts and the Vatican Gardens is very fine, of the luxuriant uncut grass, the purple flowers and white blossoms.

The collection of antiquities, the finest in the world, is the work of many Popes and was begun by Julius II., but Clement XIV. is the Pope who really formed what had been collected into a museum, and not only built a series of magnificent rooms in which to store it, but also added a great number of fresh objects, and his example was followed by his successors. A detailed description would be too long and also may be found in many excellent guide-books, but a few remarks may perhaps be made.

From the Galleria Lapidaria, opposite the long window of the library, you have a fine view of the inner court and its fountain, while on the other side you can see Italian soldiers at drill and a desolate waste of modern houses. At the end of this gallery is the fine vaulted hall of the Braccio Nuovo erected by Pius VII., lighted from above and containing recesses for statues and an apse with a curious half-window

PALACES OF POPES AND NOBLES

in the roof opening out of the central dome. The columns beneath the arches of the central dome are most gracefully arranged quite close to the walls, which are covered with marble, while the floor is covered with mosaics from the baths and temples. Altogether you may get a very fine idea of a hall in one of the great Imperial thermæ.

The *Museo Chiaramonti* itself is magnificent from its length and is set off by the picturesque uniform of the sentinel on guard. Every one who visits these galleries should get familiar with the busts of the great Emperors, which are without doubt true portraits. Notice, too, the great basins, the coffins of marble and stone, the huge coffins of coloured marbles, the figures of all kinds of animals—horses, lions, dogs and stags—the beautiful mosaics, the great vases, the stone candelabra, the statues in rosso-antico and the marble seats. In the hall of the animals are some frescoes from Hadrian's villa and other classical houses, and also the huge Imperial coffins of porphyry; the mosaic picture of flowers at the entrance is very lovely.

The Gardens.—The part of the Vatican that is now used as the residence of the Pope and his household was built by Clement VIII. and is not of course accessible to visitors, but the gardens have lately been thrown open and should on no account be neglected. The first part is rather stiff and prim with small flower-beds, but it contains the famous summer-house erected by Pius IV. from the designs of Ligorio,

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which is decorated with paintings and terracotta reliefs.

As you ascend, however, between high walls of box part of which are overshadowed by trees above, there is an absolutely wild spot where the trees meet overhead and the paths are covered with green moss. There is a sound of water trickling, and you catch a glimpse of statues here and there or an old pillar standing in the midst of green. Beyond this, passing through a gate, is a great tower of a city wall built by Leo IV. From the top you look over a quiet country scene studded with lofty chimneys. Turning now to the left you reach a small summer-house placed there by a former Pope, and through the trees you have a splendid view of the dome of S. Peter's. From this height it shows to full advantage, for the whole colonnade beneath is completely visible. The other side of the garden looks down on the rifle range of the Italian soldiers and the mountains. There is a thick plantation of oaks many of them old and lofty, a sight you do not often see in Italy, where every tree that is good for timber is cut down at an early age. As you leave the garden and pass down the road that leads round the back of S. Peter's, on the bastion on the right an Italian sentinel passes to and fro, and through the arch on your left you can see the Swiss Guard standing in the doorway in gorgeous scarlet and yellow, as if the soldiers of Julius II. were encamped in front of the army of our own day.

The Palaces of the Nobles.—Rome is full

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of great palaces many of which have been designed by great architects, but on the whole they are not to be compared in beauty with those of Venice or Genoa. This, no doubt, is partly because they are scattered over the city and are not collected together as they are on the Grand Canal or the Via Garibaldi at Genoa. Another reason is that they are all built in one style, so that we miss the pleasant contrast afforded by the spectacle of Gothic tracery side by side with the columns of classical buildings.

Palazzo di Venezia.—The Palazzo di Venezia is perhaps an exception, for on the outside at any rate it is a purely mediæval building, and the heavy battlements were constructed for defence alone. The court within, however, is graceful and simple. The palace was the residence of the Venetian Ambassador until the fall of the Republic in 1797, since which date it has been the property of the Austrians, and their Ambassador to the Vatican still lives there.

Cancellaria.—The palace of the Cancelleria, near the Corso Vittorio Emanuele, is one of the earliest works of Bramante. The façade has two orders of pilasters above a heavy rusticated basement and is by no means purely classical in style ; the pilasters are not well grouped and appear to be mixed with the windows, so that the eye does not get a clear idea of either. The court inside is much more successful and the open gallery resting on granite columns is very graceful. These pillars came, it is said, from the theatre of Pompey and the great stones are

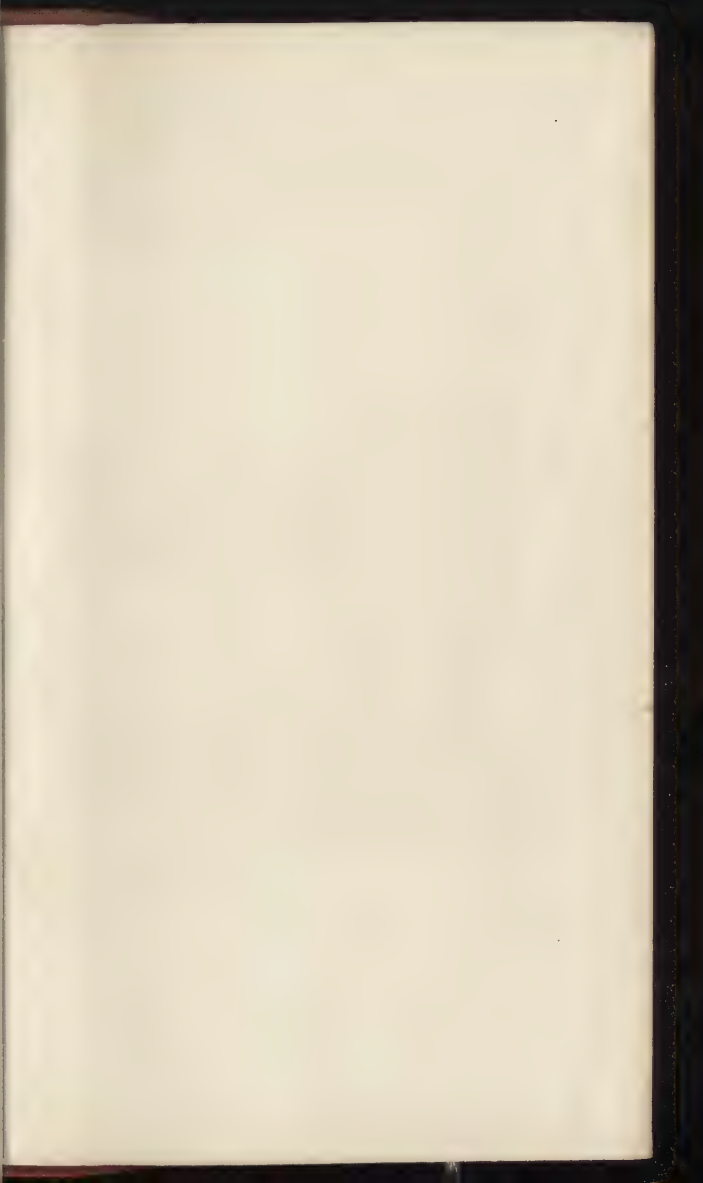
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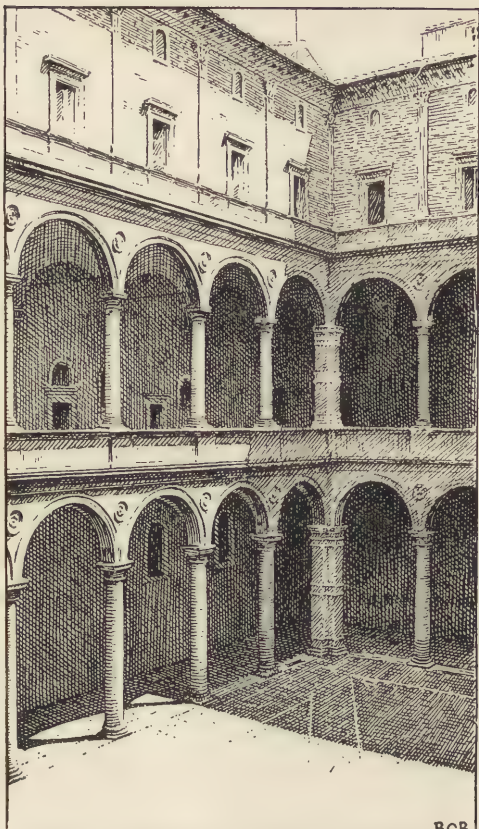
taken from the Colosseum. It was in this palace during the Revolution of 1848 that Count Rossi was murdered on the grand staircase, and he is buried in the church of S. Lorenzo close by.

Bramante also designed the Palazzo Giraud, on the road from S. Angelo to the Vatican, but there is nothing in it worth a detailed examination.

The Massimi and the Farnesina.—Another great architect who was much employed by the Popes of this time (1510-1534) was Baldasare Peruzzi, who built the Massimi Palace and the pretty Villa Farnesina on the banks of the Tiber. The Massimi is in the Corso Vittorio Emanuele, and like all the earlier Renaissance palaces in Rome is without any vulgarity, but there is nothing very striking in it, and the same may be said of the villa which is outside the Corsini Gallery, though it is very attractive on account of the beautiful frescoes with which Raphael has adorned it. Originally there were no windows in the entrance court, so that it is hardly fair to judge from its present appearance. The frescoes representing the arrival of Psyche in heaven are exquisitely painted and some of those executed by Peruzzi himself are very fine.

The garden near the Tiber is very pretty, with a number of small beds of flowers full of pinks in May and a stone lion. Originally it was much bigger, but a part was cut off to form the embankment, and it was then that the beau-





THE COURTYARD OF THE PALACE OF CANCELAERIA

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tiful ceiling paintings were discovered in some old Roman houses that were dug up.

Palazzo Farnese.—The great *Farnese Palace* in the Piazza Farnese, not far from the Cancelleria, is perhaps the finest in Rome. It was commenced by Sangallo, who worked at it until his death in 1546, when it was completed by Michael Angelo. The principal front facing the piazza is very fine, though it has been said that the windows are too close together; the grand cornice at the top, which is quite different from anything else in Rome, and gives the building an air of majesty and height, is the work of Michael Angelo. Sangallo is said to have intended to place a third storey in its place in the Corinthian style, but it would hardly have looked so well as the cornice. The arcades in the square courtyard are very well executed and this style is very suitable for the interior of a palace in a southern climate. The garden front is spoilt by a later addition of Giacomo della Porta, who inserted a centre of three arcades in the midst of a building quite unsuited to it, though in itself it is beautiful. In the courtyard is the sarcophagus from the tomb of Cæcilia Metella (p. 153), and most of the material of the palace came from the Colosseum and other buildings. The vaulted ceilings in some of the rooms are copies of those in the palace of Severus.

The Capitol.—It is often easy to distinguish the work of Michael Angelo from that of the other Renaissance architects on account of his

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fondness for gigantic details in his work, such as in the huge pilasters round the outside of S. Peter's, and he declared that Sangallo's design with a number of small columns would suggest the idea of a Gothic building rather than of a classical one.

The best example of his style is the group of buildings on the Capitol. The whole design of the square as it now is was his work and it is certainly very beautiful and impressive. He caused the statue of Marcus Aurelius to be brought thither from the Lateran and constructed the steps in front of the palace of the Senators, which is behind it, while the front itself is built from his drawings. The palace of the Conservators on the right is also his, and the Capitoline Museum on the left : "They were commenced about the year 1542, and are early specimens of the style of Corinthian pilasters running through two storeys, which afterwards became so fashionable, and it must be admitted are used here with a vigour which goes far to redeem the impropriety of their introduction. The details of the windows are better than is usual in this artist's works, and otherwise bear the impress of the hand of a giant in art but tainted with that vulgarity from which giants it is feared are seldom if ever free" (Ferguson).

Later Artists.—The designs of Vignola and Palladio are without much originality and they did not follow in the steps of Michael Angelo ; they are, however, pure and graceful and by no

PALACES OF POPES AND NOBLES

means mere copies of the old works by which they were suggested. Vignola had a much more keen sense of proportion than Michael Angelo and his work is always free from bad taste. A great number of detached works in Rome are his, and he constructed the façade of the *Villa di Papa Giulio*, outside the Porta del Popolo, which contains an interesting museum and is a good example of his skill.

The Borghese.—The *Borghese Palace*, between the Corso and the Tiber, was built about 1590 by Martino Lunghi and has a very ordinary front, but the court within is perhaps the most beautiful example of the use of arcades to form the interior of a court containing a garden which is so common an arrangement in Italy. The columns are very graceful and are so arranged as to give the idea of vaults.

The style of building rapidly degenerated in the next century, and most of the later palaces have no merit and are only of interest on account of the collections that some of them contain.

Palazzo Barberini.—The *Palazzo Barberini*, near the Quirinal, is something like what the *Palazzo Farnese* would have been if Sangallo had lived to complete his plans, and is decidedly imposing as well as picturesque, and the same may be said of the *Palazzo Doria* which looks into the Corso, but they do not strike the mind of the visitor as the cluster of palaces in the narrow streets of Genoa, and indeed most people pass them over without a thought, though in reality

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they should recall to our minds the names of the great families who built them, many of whom have filled the highest offices in the Christian Church.

New Families.—Most of the great mediæval houses had disappeared when S. Peter's was being built, although the greatest of all, the Orsini and Colonnas, were still powerful, and the new men who had taken their place often came from other parts of Italy. As the Aldobrandini fled from Florence and the Borghesi from Sienna to avoid the tyranny of the Medici, so the Ludovisi lived in Bologna until one of their members became Pope as Gregory XV. in 1621, and his nephew acquired Church revenues of more than 200,000 saidi yearly, which raised him to the highest rank. Cardinal Borghese, the nephew of Paul V., was enriched by his uncle, who heaped upon him principalities and revenues to such an extent that the Borghesi became the wealthiest of the Roman families.

Every Pope considered himself justified in using the surplus of his income to enrich his relations and to leave after him a memorial of his name in Rome. The house of Farnese was in the seventeenth century one of the most powerful in all Italy, and it was Cardinal Farnese, afterwards Paul III., who began the great Farnese Palace ; their high position in Parma and elsewhere always made their family next in rank to that of the reigning Pope. The wealth of the Barberini, relatives of Urban VIII., became in a few years so great that Professor Ranke

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declares the amount that they are asserted to have possessed to be incredible, and that their palaces, especially the one at the Quattro Fontane, now existing, were magnificent beyond belief—full of pictures and statues and precious stones and wrought silver and gold.

A great improvement took place in Rome at the end of the sixteenth century ; besides the erection of S. Peter's and numerous other churches, the great architect of the Acqua Felice recalled the glorious days of the Imperial baths when the Romans saw twenty-seven fountains sending forth streams of pure water ; the steps leading from the Pincian to the Piazza di Spagna were constructed, but on the other hand many of the ancient remains were destroyed.

In the next century Paul V. brought the Acqua Paola to the Janiculum, where the water still gushes forth in magnificent streams into the basin prepared for it, and the traveller standing by sees all Rome at his feet, and the mountains stretching round in a semicircle as far as the eye can reach.

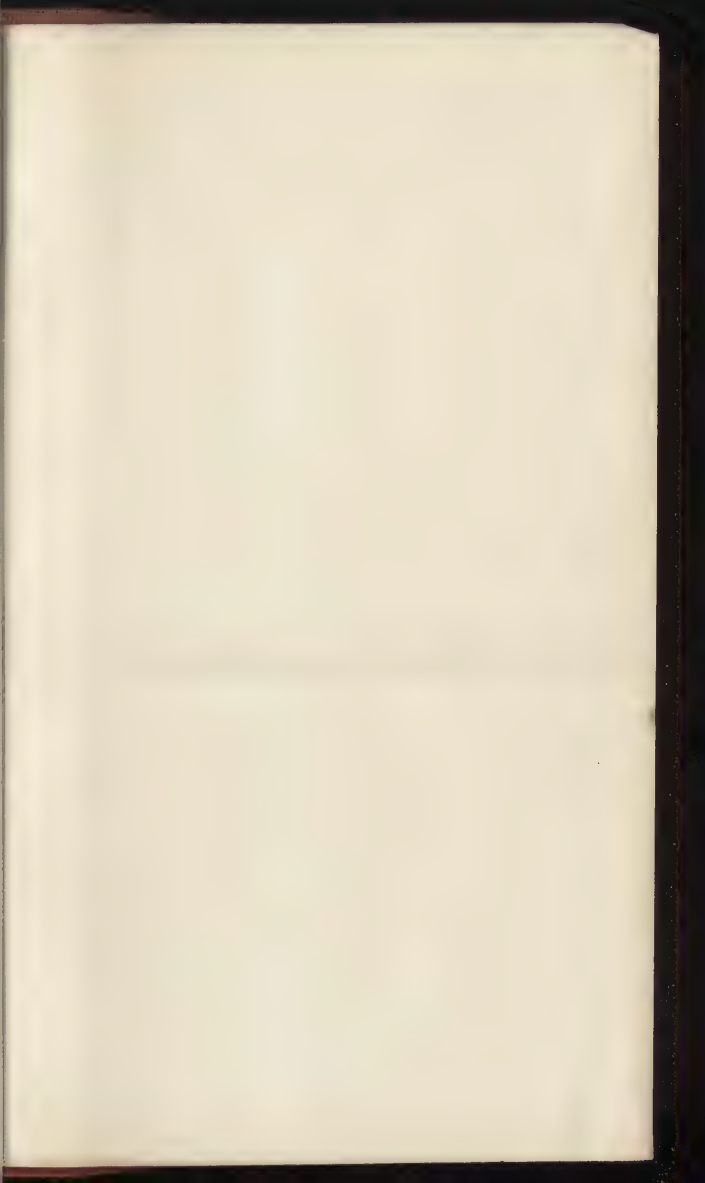
Numerous beautiful chapels were added to the great churches, and the author of the life of Paul V. cannot contain his admiration for the gardens and the palaces, filled with treasures of every kind and glittering with marble and precious stones, that were to be seen springing up everywhere.

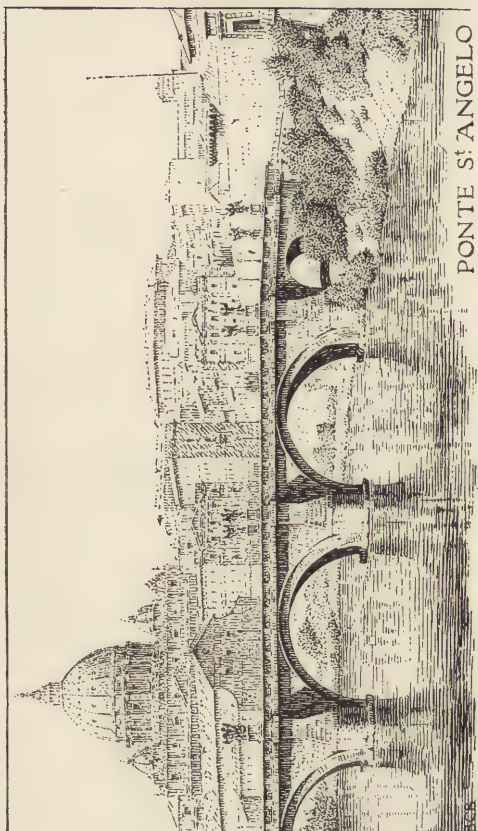
Pope Innocent X., of the house of Pamphili, built the fine villa in the beautiful park near the *Porta S. Pancrazio* where his family still resides,

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and he employed Bernini to beautify the piazza of S. Peter's and the Capitol, though the great colonnade was erected in the time of Alexander VII. At this time the great libraries and collections of paintings and objects of art which would alone bring thousands of visitors to the town were brought together, but it is a curious fact that these very Popes who did so much to beautify Rome had no respect for the monuments of the past.

The Fountains.—In many old prints may be seen pictures of the baths of Constantine which were then in good preservation, but all have now disappeared, and Bernini wished to use the tomb of Metella to construct the fountain of Trevi. He did not succeed, and the present fountain which is built against the wall of the Palazzo Poli was not completed until 1762. The central figure of Neptune designed by Bracci is very impressive and the soft fall of the waters has a strange attraction in the midst of a large city. There are many fountains of great beauty scattered over the city, almost all belonging to those times. The Fontana delle Tartarughe, in a little square near the portico of Octavia, is a very pretty little one in bronze with figures of youths and sea animals. There are the fountains in the Piazza Navona, and the central one by Bernini has statues of the great Roman gods; the Fontana del Tritone is also his work. The numerous obelisks also the Emperors had brought from Egypt are many of them rebuilt and placed in conspicuous places, as has been shown in the chapter on ancient Rome,





PONTE ST'ANGELO

FINAL CHAPTER.

Roman Art.—There are many things in Rome that have been altogether omitted or merely glanced at in this book : above all, no attempt has been made to describe the magnificent galleries of painting and sculpture, although it has been shown how valuable they are as illustrating the rather scanty remains of an older civilisation. The history of ancient art would both take more space than could be given in a sketch such as this, and needs a far abler pen. It may perhaps be the less missed because there was never a real Roman school. The sculptors were mostly Greeks, and the great painters who worked in Rome for the Popes were strangers from Florence and the north. Thus, in the Middle Ages, Giotto came to paint in the sacristy of S. Peter's, and Botticelli has decorated part of the Sistine Chapel. The great work of Michael Angelo¹ in the same building has been described, and also the Loggie of Raphael, but the Vatican is full of the paintings of that gentle painter, whose bones still lie in the Pantheon. His last work is there, the Transfiguration, which he was too weak to finish. Titian visited Rome in 1545, and many

¹ Pp. 268-270.

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of his great paintings can be seen, including the famous Sacred and Profane Love in the Borghese Gallery, which also contains Correggio's Danaë. Perhaps, however, the most famous picture in Rome is the Aurora of Guido Reni, in the Rospigliosi Palace, now, alas! stripped of the beautiful garden, which like so many others has been covered with houses. "The railway station, for instance, with its sheds and sidings, occupies the once matchless gardens of the Villa Massomo Negroni, celebrated for its exquisite cypress avenues and its stately terrace, lined with ancient orange trees."¹

Modern Alterations.—But, though much is taken, much remains, and on the whole the alterations in modern Rome have not destroyed many of the beauties of the town, except in the case of the Tiber, where the new embankment has quite spoilt the island, and given the whole river the aspect of a big ship canal. Many of the new roads are real improvements, especially the Corso Vittorio Emanuele, which has not been cut in a straight line, like the streets in Chicago, but passes carefully along so as to avoid interfering with any old building, and in many cases has opened out palaces, like the Cancelleria, which were formerly blocked with narrow streets. Some of the new streets, it is true, are by no means beautiful, but neither were the hovels and ragged bits of garden that have disappeared very picturesque. There are certainly in many places, especially near S.

¹ Baring Gould's *Old Country Life*, p. 97.



A ROMAN GARDEN



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Giovanni, long rows of houses which the builders intended to be villa residences, but which were never finished, or if they were, no one came to live in them. "Houses seven storeys high, abandoned within a month of completion, rise, uninhabited and uninhabitable, out of a rank growth of weeds, amidst heaps of rubbish, staring down at the broad, desolate streets, where the vigorous grass pushes its way through the loose stones of the unrolled metalling. Amidst low walls, which were to have been the ground storeys of palaces, a few ragged children play in the sun; a lean donkey crops the thistles. Further on, tall façades rise suddenly up, the blue sky gleaming through their windows, the green moss already growing upon their naked stones and bricks. The Barberini of the future, if any should arise, will not need to despoil the Colosseum to quarry material for their palaces" (Marion Crawford).

The cause of all this was the expectation of the Roman landowners that when Rome had become the capital of Italy it would increase far more rapidly than has been the case. When this became evident, the bankers who had advanced money to build the houses suddenly stopped lending, and the houses were left as we now see them, unfinished and desolate; or if they were fit to live in, they have passed into the hands of the very poor, who occupy the rooms of these huge houses.

Political Difficulties of Modern Italy.—
In a short time the appearance of the Piazza di

ROME

Venezia will be much altered, as the houses are being taken down in order to give a full view of the costly memorial to Victor Emmanuel, as to which it is too early to form a judgment. Perhaps the same thing may be said of the life work of that remarkable man, and yet national unity is so great and priceless a boon, and the Italians had suffered so much from foreign oppression, that the heavy price they have had to pay does not seem too great. That the price is heavy no one who has been much in Rome can doubt. The taxation is very possibly the heaviest in Europe, and the administrators, hard-working as they are, do not manage those beneath them well. There is no real governing class, and both the Civil Service and the judges are far too numerous. On the other hand, the police and gendarmes are polite, and there is no trace of the tyranny so usual on the Continent.

Part of the price is the existence of a hostile State within the walls of Rome itself, which has never been reconciled to the loss of its temporal sovereignty, but even in this warfare there are traces of compromise which give hope for the future. There can be no doubt that the suppression of those orders of monks whose duties were purely religious was a good thing in itself and in some countries has been sanctioned by the Pope ; it has been carried out in Italy without rigour and it will strike many people that the number of monks are even now far too numerous. The Pope has always refused to accept the Civil List offered him by the

FINAL CHAPTER

Italian Government, but he gladly accepts the services of the police on great occasions in S. Peter's. There are some incidental advantages in the present state of things ; it is impossible for any one not an Italian to be Pope and it is probable that this exclusion of foreign Catholics would provoke jealousy if the Pope were friendly to the Italian king. In some of the great families one of the sons is serving in the Pope's Noble Guard, while another is an officer in the regular army, or perhaps at the head of the Roman municipality. All this would seem to show that the differences are not so deep-rooted as it might appear, though it is certain that there is a very real discontent at the heavy taxation among all the upper classes in Rome. Even in this respect, however, there is hope that as the country grows more prosperous it may be less felt, and that as the foreign relations improve less money need be spent in keeping up a large army to defend the unity of the kingdom.

The Charm of Modern Rome.—There is a peculiar charm in the daily life of Rome that is partly the result of imagination, but springs also from the daily sight of spectacles and colours that recall the past history of the city and of the world. "Even the trams," as Mr. Archer said lately in the *Chronicle*, "increase the enchantment. By night especially, as they sail along, jewelled with electric lamps, through the cavernous by-streets of the Campus Martius, they have not only a material but a symbolic

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beauty. They carry the clear pure light of science into ways once lit by the red torch-glare of the Middle Ages, and even within living memory by the feebly guttering oil-lamps of the Papal rule." The centre of modern life in Rome is still the Piazza di Spagna, which takes its name from the palace of the Spanish Ambassador, and the wide staircase of the S. Trinita de' Monti, the work of Charles VIII. of France, is still the haunt of flower girls and beggars. In one corner the college of the Propaganda stands which rules over the Catholics in non-Catholic lands and sends forth missionaries abroad and receives distinguished converts within its walls. The red hat and bright cloak of a cardinal may often be seen within its walls, and theological students of all nations pass to and fro clad in robes of various colours, while in the street outside perhaps a picturesque cart with painted sides from the Campagna is passing or a band of Bersaglieri with flowing plumes flash quickly by, and in the afternoon an endless line of carriages toil up the ascent to the Pincian Hill where once stood the palace of Lucullus. In the beautiful little park on the top we may listen to the music and watch the carriages and the picturesque cloaks of the officers, looking down upon the great city which once was the capital of the world and the ruler of our own land, and which is still the head of half the Christian world. "So long as the sunlight filters softly through the dusk of ilex avenues and the age-

FINAL CHAPTER

old fountains plash in every garden and every street, so long in spite of the worst that change can do will Rome retain, for vision and imagination alike, its ancient incommunicable magic."

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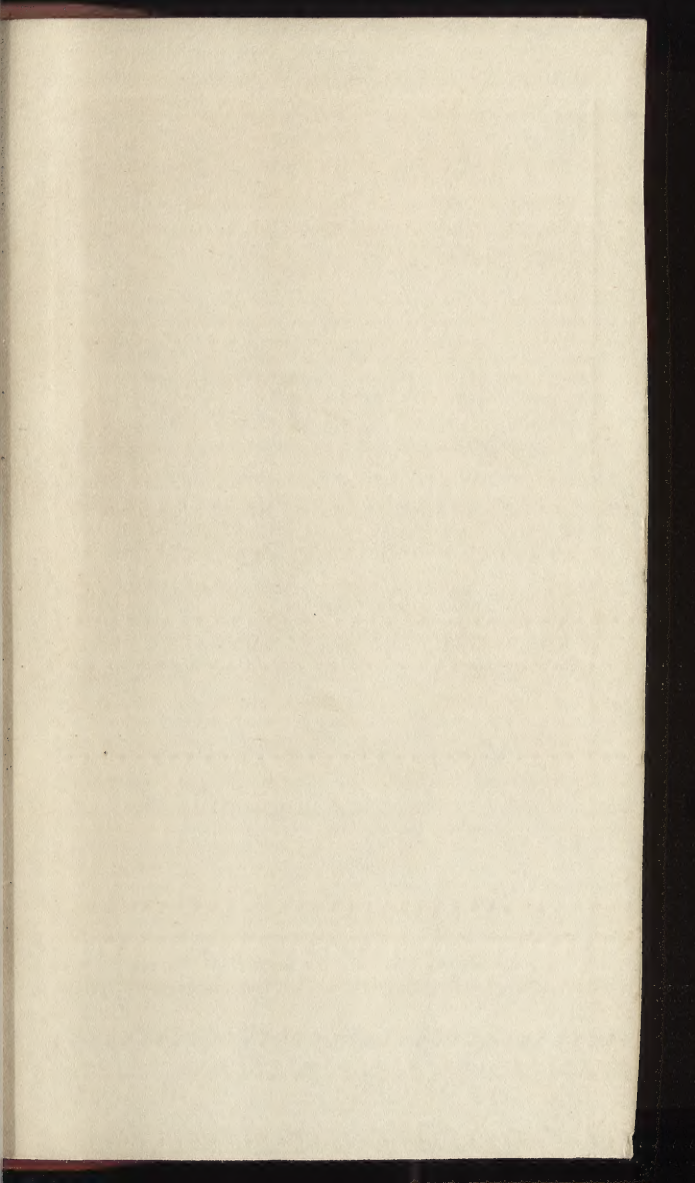
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